

**Waterfront Regeneration :**  
**A Comparative Analysis of**  
**Newcastle upon Tyne and Glasgow**

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

<b>ATM</b>	Automatic Teller Machine
<b>GEAR</b>	Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal (Project)
<b>GDA</b>	Glasgow Development Agency
<b>LEC</b>	Local Economic Company
<b>SDA</b>	Scottish Development Agency
<b>SE</b>	Scottish Enterprise
<b>SECC</b>	Scottish Exhibition and Conference Centre
<b>TWDC</b>	Tyne and Wear Development Corporation
<b>UDC</b>	Urban Development Corporation
<b>UK</b>	United Kingdom

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## ABSTRACT

This study focuses on two main areas within the UK in its examination of waterfront regeneration. The waterfront regeneration project at Newcastle upon Tyne was used as a case study reference for the regeneration projects currently proposed along the Clyde River in Glasgow. The waterfront regeneration projects were examined within the policy approaches under which they were developed and the relative effectiveness of these policies. Three key issues are examined in relation to the two study areas. The first issue explores the effectiveness of the Newcastle project in the context of the property-led approach to regeneration and the lessons which may be applied to the Clyde. The relevant policy issues are explored with the aim of discussing which are most relevant to current regeneration procedures and would produce optimal results. The second issue concerns the level of community involvement and benefit from this type of physical regeneration. This also indicates the sectors which benefit the most from waterfront regeneration and highlights some of the issues facing the development of a Clyde regeneration plan in Glasgow. Finally, the issue of the single-agency approach to urban waterfront regeneration is explored through the Newcastle experience in terms of its value and effectiveness in achieving an holistic form of regeneration in the 1990s and onwards.

# **CHAPTER 1**

## **Introduction**

### **1.1 General Introduction**

This study focuses on the fairly broad issue of waterfront regeneration. This falls within the general issues concerning urban regeneration and the property - led focus of urban regeneration which was prevalent during the period of the 1980s in the UK as a whole. The study is also based on an examination of the key issues surrounding two areas of waterfront regeneration in the UK, namely the Clyde River in Glasgow and the Tyne River in Newcastle upon Tyne. Both areas typify the regeneration of riversides which were formerly engaged in the shipbuilding industry in the UK. In addition to this, both functioned as active ports and centres for heavy manufacturing industries. The attraction of the waterfront as a frontier for thriving cities in addition to massive dereliction which was derived from the decline in industry provided the impetus for the regeneration in both the areas discussed in this study. Three main issues will be examined and discussed in this study. The study will attempt to determine the general and conditions under which these projects were initiated. In doing so, the aims and objectives will be determined in the light of the entire process of urban regeneration. The issues concerning the relative socio-economic effects on the local communities will be examined and, in doing so, the extent to which this type of regeneration may be viewed as holistic in terms of assisting communities will be determined. Finally, the study will seek to determine the main driving forces responsible for the process and the extent to which the contribution of large quasi-government or private sector bodies have contributed to the relative success of the projects.

## 1.2 Key Issue Number 1

The need for the development of urban regeneration policies in large cities has long been recognised. This may partly be attributed to the adverse effects of two World Wars on several major cities in Europe during the first half of this century. However, an examination of regeneration policy in the UK as well as in many major cities reveals that this policy has not developed in isolation. Rather, the nature and structure of the policies have been intrinsically linked to the prevailing structural social and economic policies.

These policies were consequences of local and national government's attempts to adjust to the major socio-economic and industrial changes which were rapidly occurring during the post war period. The development and growth of technology and its use in industry significantly altered modes of production and led to the growth of a new and rapidly expanding service sector. These changes often led to the demise of heavy manufacturing industries and this in turn created changes in the employment and social structures of many cities. The combination of such factors initiated the development of a new private sector - like policy response by several governments, including the UK. During the late 1970s and 1980s this mode of thought manifested itself in urban regeneration policy with the development and use of the property-led approach to urban regeneration. This approach was based on the theory that if sufficient quantities of funds were directed into the physical regeneration and development of deteriorating and derelict areas of the city, this would lead to a spin-off effect of increased economic and social development in the area. This meant that the local community and the entire city as a whole would benefit from the renewed socio-economic activity in the area. Waterfront areas were particularly identified for this type of regeneration activity as many cities industrial

changes resulted in growing obsolescence which generated social and economic decline. Major developments of this type were initiated in London Docklands, Cardiff Bay, Merseyside Development and Leeds Waterfront (Granary Wharf). These regeneration projects often involved large investments of private and public sector funds and were often used as flagship projects for their respective cities.

The Clyde River in Glasgow provides an important example of a waterfront area which was faced with dereliction and deterioration during the late 1970s and 1980s. The waterfront areas of the Tyne River in Newcastle and the Wear in Sunderland presented similar dispositions during this time. These areas in the North East of England were identified as ideal sites for the application of property-led regeneration policies during the 1980s. The effects of this regeneration have been such that the areas no longer resemble the broken and worn down riversides that they were less than two decade ago.

The regeneration of the Clyde has significantly lagged behind that of several other rivers in the UK and has now come into focus for concerted action. In light of the policies and approaches that have been used in places such as Newcastle, a decision must be made about the direction of waterfront regeneration in Glasgow. This study will attempt to examine and discuss the possible approaches that may be applied to Glasgow.

### **1.3 Key Issue Number 2**

The physical deterioration of sections of urban areas is often inextricably linked with the decline in the social and economic conditions of the surrounding communities. This is particularly evident in areas where the economic activity prevalent in the area provided the impetus for the development of these communities. In waterfront areas where the economic activity was generally industrial in nature, the development of communities was often directly linked to the port industrial activity. In the cases of both the Clyde and Tyneside areas the neighbouring communities developed and thrived as a consequence of the heavy industries and port functions present during the late nineteenth century. Thus a decline in the industry also initiated the decline and marginalization of those communities. The recent and ongoing regeneration of the waterfront areas represents an attempt at revitalisation and reabsorption into the city-wide economy. However, as the new 1990s urban policy approach has revealed, regeneration suggests more than the physical renewal of buildings and sites. The impact of these developments on the marginalised communities is an important aspect of the success or failure of the projects. Of additional importance is the extent to which the waterfront areas have been regenerated as functional sites within the city and the role and impact of community participation in project development and implementation.

### **1.4 Key Issue Number 3**

Urban policy responses to problems during the 1980s involved the need for greater investments in property. This also suggests the increased role of market forces in the process of urban regeneration. Along with this policy came the need for less public control of the process as well

as an increased encouragement of private sector participation and funding in the development of projects. A major consequence of these policies was the formation of Urban Development Corporations in England. These quasi-governmental boards were entrusted with the role of co-ordinating and conducting all major aspects of urban regeneration policies and projects in their regions. This approach was used during most of the process of regeneration along the Tyneside in Newcastle. The Tyne and Wear Development Corporation was the main body responsible for initiating and co-ordinating the project. In Scotland however, urban policy differed and the Urban Development Corporations approach was not adopted. Therefore, there was no single body responsible for the regeneration of the Clyde as the Tyne in Newcastle. The Urban Development Corporations were largely powerful bodies with the ability to lever large quantities of private sector funding and investments in their projects. However these Corporations were developed with well-defined life spans which were generally of ten years duration, and as a consequence, most had been dissolved by the last two years of this decade. Therefore, their relative success and importance is questionable in light of this fact.

## **1.5 Methodology**

### **The General Perspective**

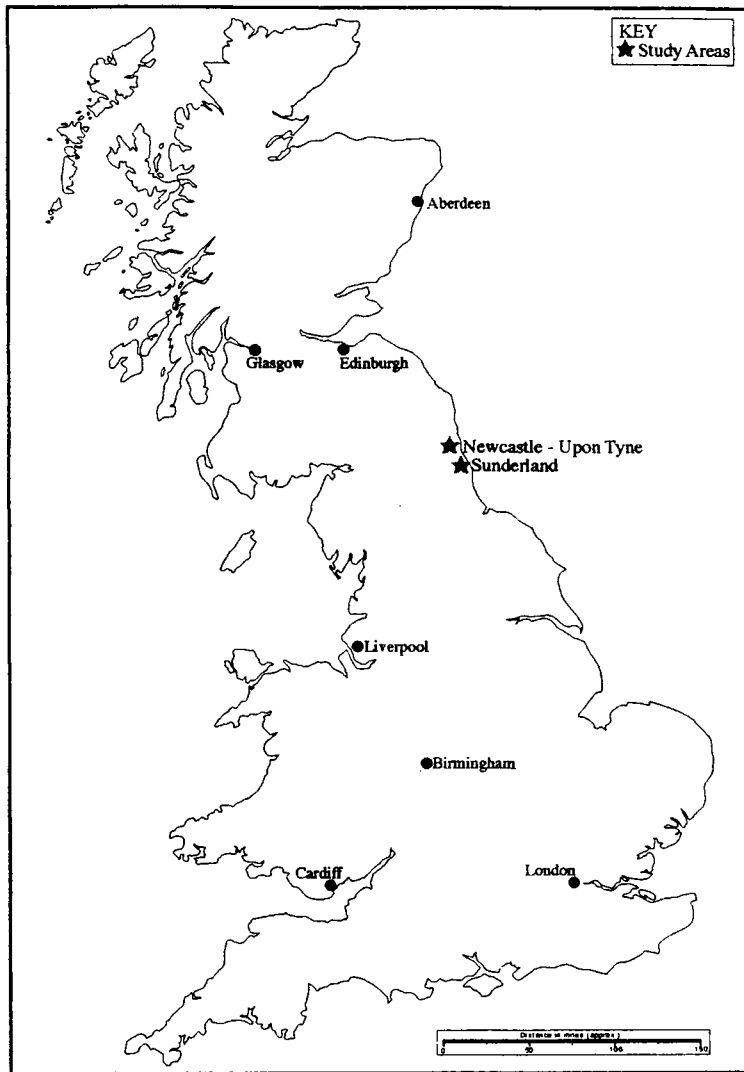
The methodology used during the development of this research project was one that evolved as the research process proceeded. As a qualitative study, this research presented here included a generally qualitative perspective in its development.

## 1.6 The Research Context

This study focussed on Newcastle upon Tyne and Glasgow as the main areas in terms of data collection and analysis. The two areas were selected as a result of their many historical, social and economic similarities. Figure 1 (overleaf) indicates the locations of the study areas. The two regions selected present an example of riverside waterfront development on a smaller scale than those that have been undertaken in places such as the London Docklands. In spite of the fact that the two regions present similar experiences in many aspects, the redevelopment of their waterfronts has been developed under two varying perspectives and types of urban policies. This further increased their suitability for this research project as it provided the basis for comparison and critique of the policy approaches.

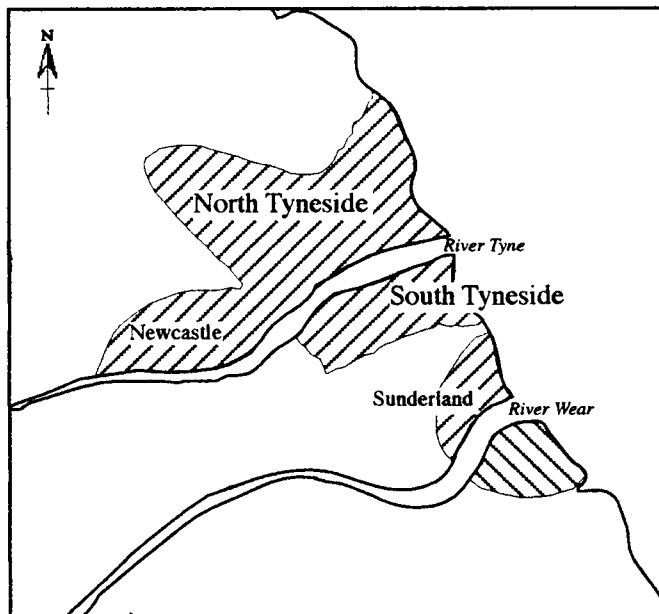
In this study, Newcastle upon Tyne was used as a case study of riverside regeneration in the UK. Figure 2 (page 7) indicates the locations of the developments at Newcastle upon Tyne. The region was selected on the basis of its socio- economic and historical similarity with the Clyde. In addition, much of the regeneration which was planned by the Urban Development Corporation has taken place and the effects are quite observable at this time. Although the Tyne and Wear Development Corporation (TWDC) was based along both the Tyne and Wear Rivers, the study limits its focus to the activities along the Tyne riverside in Newcastle. Within the Newcastle area, the Newcastle Business Park was selected as the focus institution for the study. This project was selected on the basis that this type of development bears much similarity to those which have been proposed for possible implementation in Glasgow. As such, its analysis would produce valuable lessons for Glasgow.

Figure 1: Map of Britain showing the Location of Study Areas



source : The Author

Figure 2: Map Showing the Tyne and Wear Rivers and their surrounding Regions



source : The Author

## 1.7 The Research Participants

The research framework involved the contribution of several participants in the process. These stemmed from both areas of research, that is, Newcastle and Glasgow and were as indicated in Table 1 below. During the course of this research project, the researcher was primarily concerned with the nature of the policies that guided the development of the waterfront regeneration plans. As such, most of the focus was on the individuals such as planners and project directors who were involved in the development and direction of the relative proposals. The businesses at Newcastle were targeted in order to provide some indication of the extent to which the development was relevant to the local area.

**Table 1 The Research Participants**

Newcastle upon Tyne	Glasgow
Newcastle City Council	Glasgow City Council
Amec Development Corporation	Glasgow Development Agency
Newcastle University	Glasgow Alliance
The Newcastle Business Park	Glasgow Science Centre Project
Businesses located at the Business Park	Govan Initiatives

**Source : The Author, 1999**

## 1.8 Instruments Used in Data Collection

The main instrument used during the process of data collection were questionnaires and interviews. These instruments were selected as a result of the data required and provided a means of obtaining information concerning the structure of the plans and the history surrounding plan development. First, a trip was made to Newcastle where the researcher was able to conduct interviews with the officials who were involved in the actual development and implementation of urban policy in the region. In addition, the researcher visited the Tyne riverside area in Newcastle where the developments had taken place in order to gain a first hand impression of the area. This was followed by several telephone interviews with officials from the businesses selected at the Newcastle Business Park. Interviews were held with various individuals in Glasgow at several dates. Table 2 (overleaf) indicates the positions of the individuals interviewed from various institutions.

## 1.9 Data Analysis

The data collected during the process of this study was of two main forms :

**Primary Data** was collected through interviews with the relevant authority officials and with businesses and companies which has located in the new regeneration developments. This data will be presented in the form of tables and charts and will be analysed qualitatively.

**Secondary Data** was obtained from the official publications of plans and reports originating from local government authorities and public records. This data will also be subject to qualitative analysis and discussion.

**Table 2 List of Persons Interviewed**

Number	Position of Individual	Date of Interview
1	Director of Regeneration Services Glasgow City Council	16/08/99
2	Project Director for Pacific Quay	10/08/99
3	Planning Officer for Clydebank	30/07/99
4	Assistant Director Glasgow Science Centre	05/08/99
5	Assistant Chief Executive Govan Initiatives	16/08/99
6	Planning Co-ordinator Clyde Port Authority	17/08/99
7	Planning Assistant for Local Plans Newcastle City Council	04/08/99
8	Marketing Director Amec Development Corporation	04/08/99
9	Director Management Section Newcastle Business Park	04/08/99
10	Project Co-ordinator North Tyneside Challenge Area	04/08/99

Source : The Author, 1999.

### **1.10 Delimitation of the Research Project**

The project has been limited in several ways by a series of factors, most of which were beyond the control of the area. Primarily, the research was hindered by an inadequate supply of documents in the form of plans and strategies outlining the projects in both cases. Additionally, there was an absence of vital report documents in Newcastle as the organisation responsible for the implementation of projects ceased to exist in 1998. Subsequent to this, there seems to be little knowledge of the location of those reports. The nature of the developments in Glasgow, being private sector oriented, also reduced access to policy documents and strategies. As such, the research will focus on the project area immediately near the Newcastle City Centre area and the Princes Dock area of the Clyde in Glasgow. As a result of time constraints as well as the geographical extent of the riversides, the focus remains as such.

### **1.11 The Relevance of the Study**

Waterfront regeneration has been a wide ranging type of activity spanning several` areas and agencies and involving large quantities of public and private sector funding.. However the research into this topic area has been rather limited. It is hoped that this study will reintegrate waterfront regeneration into the entire scheme of urban economic regeneration and will hence contribute to this important area.

## Chapter 2

### Background to the Waterfront Development at the Clyde and Tyne Rivers

#### 2.1 Background to the Clyde

The city of Glasgow has played an integral role in the historical development of the UK in its entirety. At the height of the extent and power of the British Empire during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the city was often referred to as the second city of the empire. Much of this importance may be attributed to the valuable shipbuilding industries found along the Clyde River. With an Empire that stretched over the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, ships played a vital role in that they were part of the mechanism designed to maintain British supremacy. Ships were required to maintain defence and trade links between Britain and the rest of the empire. The consequent demand for ships resulted in positive effects on the shipbuilding industry as a whole and in 1893 the British shipbuilding industry was estimated to have control of 81.7 percent of the world market. (Middlemiss, 1994, p.5). The industry along the Clyde was an important aspect of this supremacy and the entire city of Glasgow benefited greatly from this factor. The importance of this industry led to Glasgow's rise and reputation as an industrial city throughout the UK.

During the eighteenth century the importance of the Clyde for navigational and trade purposes was recognised and various engineering projects were undertaken to improve the natural qualities of the Clyde estuary and develop its potential as a trading port. These included the redevelopment of Port Glasgow in 1710 and the deepening of the harbour through the construction of dykes at the upstream levels as well as the dredging of fords along the river.

This improved the conditions of the port and increased its importance as a port concerned with trade between Britain and the Americas.

The Clyde River's importance as a shipbuilding and trading port continued to increase during the nineteenth century and as a consequence, the city of Glasgow thrived with new communities developing along the Clyde in response to the opportunities for employment provided by a viable river and Port. Communities such as Govan, the Gorbals and Hutchinson town were established along the Clyde and these comprises predominantly manual low skilled workers who were employed in the shipbuilding and Port industries directly or indirectly. The thriving Clyde and Port Glasgow therefore produced relatively economically productive communities.

The prominence of the Clyde as a shipbuilding and trading port did not however last throughout the twentieth century. The decline of the shipbuilding industry was particularly marked between 1950 to 1970, so that at the end of this period, the UK output on the world market was approximately 6%. (Middlemiss, 1994, p.5). Several factors were responsible for the decline of the port and the surrounding communities. Of significant importance was the introduction of new and improved technology into the ship building industry. This technology improved and increased the rate at which ships could be produced and was adopted quickly by the Japanese ship builders during the latter part of the twentieth century. At this time, however the various shipbuilding companies along the Clyde were quite divided and were unwilling to amalgamate to form a single company that would have a greater economic capacity to adopt and apply the new technology. Consequently, the shipbuilders along the Clyde became uncompetitive within the industry and several were forced out of business. Another significant factor related or technology involved the introduction of containerised transportation of goods by ships. This resulted in a significant reduction in the demand for the typical merchant which were being

constructed at the time along the Clyde. Additionally, at this time, the British Empire had experienced almost complete disintegration and decline as several of the countries obtained their independence. Of significance to this decline was the subsequent loss of trade with the United States and other European countries, which resulted in the reduction in the port functions of thriving UK cities. This meant that the need to patrol international waters in order to safeguard British colonies and interests had lessened. As a consequence of these factors, several shipbuilding yards along the Clyde were forced out of business and the level of the industry declined to a mere three yards in 1993 (Middlemiss, 1994, p.6). Along with this decline came the drastic reduction in employment opportunities. According to Middlemiss (1994), shipbuilding employment fell by 50 percent between 1950 and 1970. This suggests that the neighbouring communities, which were dependent to a large extent on the industry, must have suffered from a drop in employment levels during this time.

Notwithstanding the importance of the shipbuilding to the Clyde region in general, and even more important aspect of the history of the harbour is the concentration of industrial production. In Britain, most shipbuilding activity was located in areas that possessed heavy industries such as iron, coal or steel. The Clyde region was no exception with the predominance of the coal industry near the waterside. The rationale for the location of these industries at the time was based on the bulky nature of the products or outputs of the industry and the consequent need for transportation. This industry stimulated in part both the growth, development and expansion of the docks, but also the growth and development of subsequent communities. These industry dependent communities thrived during the nineteenth century when the coal industry was at its height. Consequently, the decline of these industries initiated decline, deterioration and decay in the neighbouring communities and in the Clyde area as a whole.

## 2.2 The Tyne Experience

The history of the Tyne River and its significance to the city of Newcastle and the surrounding region in general bears great similarities to that of the Clyde River in Glasgow. The river's importance was based on its use in promoting the shipbuilding industry during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The naval aspect of the shipbuilding industry was of particular importance during this time with the establishment of shipbuilding yards such as Elswick along the water's edge. In addition to this industry, the heavy manufacturing industries also performed an important role in the city's economy as a whole and were significant aspects of the Tyne's economic contribution to the city. These industries were mainly coal mining, iron, steel and heavy engineering activities. The importance of the Tyne to these industries stemmed from the fact that transportation methods and costs were serious considerations in the location of heavy industry. The proximity of the river provided access to a relatively inexpensive form of transportation for the heavy products of the industry. Large sections of the population of Newcastle were engaged in these forms of industrial employment to the extent that Newcastle men retain the image of being the hard and tough men of the North. Consequently several communities developed in the land space adjacent to and along the waterfront and these provided the labour supply vital to the prosperity of the industries.

The Tyne River differs from the Clyde in its topographical orientation in that a fairly steep slope bounds the land alongside the river on the north or Newcastle side. This did not encourage the development of communities immediately near the waterfront along the north side. Towards the South bank of the river, the communities which together form the South Tyneside area developed in response to the prosperity of the industries found along the Tyne. The withdrawal

of industries from the Tyneside area created large quantities of derelict and contaminated land spaces in the area. The reasons for this contraction in industry are discussed fully in Chapter Three. In addition, the communities that had previously benefited from employment opportunities in the heavy industry sector began to experience massive unemployment and the associated economic and social decline. The decline in communities such as the West End and Ouseborne reflected on the city of Newcastle in general and helped to create a poor image of the city as being one ridden with social and economic problems and in decline. Therefore with the development and initiation of the property-led approach in the UK as well as the development of city marketing as a strategy for promoting economic regeneration a strategy for the regeneration of the Tyne River was developed.

## **Chapter 3**

### **Urban Policy Development and Approaches**

#### **3.1 The Rationale for Urban Policy Development**

The basic rationale for the development of an explicit urban policy in the UK emerged during the post 1960 period. Prior to this, government policies were aimed mainly at the reduction of overcrowding in cities in addition to improvements in the housing stocks and slum clearance (Atkinson and Moon, 1994, p.23). This sanitary approach to the urban environment was generally developed as a means of clearing the city of the perceived problems. The measures used during this time involved the dispersal and decentralisation of urban population and services. Thus in 1946 the New Towns Programme was initiated through the New Towns Act of 1946. This programme entailed the development of New Towns built around a village nucleus on Greenfield sites. Fourteen towns were built after 1947 in the UK and they were designed to accommodate the overspill in population from the nearby surrounding city. This initiative proved to be of limited effect in reducing the general urban problems prevalent at the time. However, it was successful in merely shifting some of the social problems to another locality (Atkinson and Moon, 1994,). In Scotland, this approach was characterised by the relocation of the residents of the overcrowded inner cities into new peripheral estates. In a similar manner, this constituted the relocation of existing problems, so that the 'inner city' problem of England has its counterpart in the 'peripheral estates' problems of cities such as Glasgow and Edinburgh.

### **3.2 The Root Causes of Urban Decline in the Post 1960 Period**

The acceleration of urban decline during the post 1960 period in Britain has been attributed to several factors. One of the most significant contributors to the process, however, is what has been described by many as the deindustrialisation of the British economy (Massey 1984, Rowthorn 1986). Deindustrialisation refers to the process through which British industry experienced a severe decline, both in absolute terms and also in relation to the increasing importance of the service industry sectors. The industries affected were the production industries, which included manufacturing, mining, and construction. During the immediate post World War II period, British industry experienced an expansionary phase which may generally be attributed to a government - sponsored export drive (Rowthorn, 1986,). This also led to increased opportunities for employment in those sectors as well as economic growth.

From 1966 however, this growth was halted as a result of deflationary measures adopted by the Labour government at the time. Consequently, since this period, industrial employment began to decline and this trend continued into the 1980s. Industrial employment fell from peak figures of 11.5 million to less than 7 million between 1966 and 1984. At the same time, manufacturing employment alone fell from 8.7 million to 5.4 million (Rowthorn, 1986, p.2). The importance of industry to the British economy is indicated by its share of civil employment. In 1955, 48 percent of all employment was in the industrial sector. However, by 1984 this had fallen to 34 percent of all employment (Rowthorn, 1986, p.4). The decline in the industrial sectors affected all parts of the UK and the nature of the effects reflected the type of industry dominant in each region. The manufacturing industry was particularly affected with most regions indicating severe loss of employment as a result of closures and contraction of the

industry. In Scotland, manufacturing employment declined by approximately 36.8 percent between 1966 and 1983, while the decline for the same period in the North region, which is inclusive of Newcastle upon Tyne, was 36.8 percent (Rhodes, 1986, p.148). The decline in manufacturing was also evident in the comparative share of manufacturing in the total GDP for that period. Table 3 below shows the nature and extent of the decline in manufacturing output in the various regions. As the table indicates, Scotland and the North region were quite severely affected in terms of manufacturing output.

**Table 3 Manufacturing Output Expressed as a Percentage of GDP, by Region, 1974-1981.**

<b>Region</b>	<b>Manufacturing Share % 1974 (*000)</b>	<b>Manufacturing Share % 1981 (*000)</b>	<b>Percentage Change in Manufacturing Share 1974 to 1981</b>
North	33.6	27.7	-17.6
Yorks./Humberside	32.3	25.7	-20.4
East Midlands	33.3	28.4	-14.7
West Midlands	41.4	31.6	-23.7
North-West	34.8	30.0	-13.8
Wales	29.5	23.2	-21.4
Scotland	27.5	21.9	-20.4
Northern Ireland	27.5	18.7	-32.0
UK	28.5	23.4	-17.9

**Source : The Geography of Deindustrialisation Martin and Rowthorn (eds.) 1986 p.149**

Deindustrialisation continued to affect several UK cities during the 1990s as is evident by the continued loss of manufacturing employment in cities where this was the main type of economic activity. Table 4 below illustrates this decline in manufacturing employment as it has taken places in the former industrial city of Glasgow during the 1990s. The figures in the table indicate that in 1996 manufacturing employment formed a mere ten percent of all employment in Glasgow.

**Table 4 Employment by Sector in Glasgow ( '000s )**

Sector	1981	1991	1993	1996
Manufacturing	73.4	43.5	34.3	31.3
Services	259.0	251.2	251.8	259.9
Construction/Others	30.6	27.3	22.6	20.8
TOTAL	363.0	322.0	308.7	312.0

**Source : Census of Employment/Annual Employment Survey 1996 (Employee Jobs)**

Manufacturing has also experienced decline as a sector of the economy in that it contributes an increasingly smaller proportion of the exports and Gross National Product within the economy. According to the Annual Census of Production, (Scottish Council Development and Industry 1996) manufacturing exports from Glasgow were approximately 704.5 million pounds in 1994/95. In 1996/97 this figure had declined to 597.9 million pounds and continues to decline to the present. Similar trends exist in Newcastle upon as manufacturing continues to decline. Table 5 (overleaf) indicates the employment by sector in Newcastle and in 1996 the manufacturing sector employed only 11.5 percent of the total number of employed persons in the

city, compared to 17.2 percent in business and finance and 37.4 percent in public services. Thus the city may longer be referred to as a manufacturing or industrial city in that sense.

**Table 5 Employment by Industry in Newcastle upon Tyne (1996)**

<b>Industry Sector</b>	<b>Employment in Sector (% of total)</b>
Agriculture	0.0
Energy/Water	1.2
Manufacturing	11.5
Construction	3.8
Retail/Wholesale	12.3
Hotels/Catering	5.2
Transport/Communications	5.7
Finance/Business	17.2
Public Administration & Services	37.4
Other Services	5.8

**Source : Newcastle upon Tyne Fact Card 1999, Economic Development Department, Newcastle upon Tyne**

Three main hypotheses have been proposed to provide possible explanations for the occurrence of the deindustrialisation process in the UK. Rowthorn (1986) proposes the “maturity thesis”, the “trade specialisation thesis” and the “failure thesis”. The maturity thesis is derived from the evolutionary school of thought and suggests that economies go through stages of development towards maturity. At the height of these stages of development is the service-based economy, which relies predominantly of service sector. Thus the pre 1960s British economy represented a

less mature economy and on which had yet to achieve maturity. The trade specialisation thesis suggests that the demand for manufacturing products had declined and thus there was less need for a manufacturing sector in Britain.

The thesis which has been most accepted however, has been that of failure. This term is used in the sense that British manufacturers failed to achieve the innovations in the method and type of production which would have allowed them to remain productive on the global market. Evidence indicates that by the 1960s Japanese and American technology had begun to equal and surpass the British technology and that this reduced significantly the demand for British products. Arguably, British industry fell victim to the disease which has often been described as the manufacturers' aversion to innovation in production (Dintenfass, 1992). This reluctance to accept new technology was evident in most of the industries, such as iron, steel, coal and textiles, which Britain had dominated on the world market level during the last century. The arguments all provide some plausible explanations for the demise of British industry after 1960.

Other factors however must be considered in order to fully grasp the concept of the entire situation. For instance, new discoveries and changes in global demands for products cannot be discounted as important factors. The demand for coal, for example, declined sharply during this period to coincide with the rising demand for petroleum as a substitute. By no means could this have profited the coal industries in Britain at the time. Deindustrialisation has also been attributed to other factors which Weiner (1981) describes as the "gentrification of the British middle class." This gentrification process is explained as being part the anti-entrepreneurial nature of British culture. Traditional British culture dictates that the heroes of society are the aristocrats who engage in various pursuits of leisure and political (Dintenfass, 1992). In the

essence of this culture is the aspiration of business and manufacturing individuals to become part of this class as a show of improvement in their status. Many argue that this aristocratic, anti-industrial code of values has had a subtle, yet dampening effect on British industry and has therefore contributed to its demise.

The process of deindustrialisation had a severe adverse effect on several British cities, particularly during the post 1960 period. This was mainly due to the fact that most industries were located within the confines of major urban areas, as regional centres. This was partly due to the fact that the by-products of the manufacturing process were generally heavy and bulky and therefore required locations near major transportation points. The most convenient and economic locations were generally in large cities with the required labour force and, in particular, those with a waterfront or harbour area which could be used for transportation of products. Thus major industries were located along the Clyde in Glasgow, along the Tyne River in Newcastle and the Wear River in Sunderland. Consequently, deindustrialisation had its most adverse effects in these urban centres rather than the rural areas. The loss of employment which resulted from the process, initiated the decline of several urban communities which were dependent of those industries. In addition, the closure of industries created obsolete and derelict land spaces as well as areas of economic inactivity within cities. The location of the industries generally reflected the areas of urban decline.

The population trends for the post 1960 period indicate the acceleration of the process of urban-rural shift in population. During this period the rural and more so the suburban areas gained population far more rapidly than the entire nation as a whole (Lewis and Townsend 1990). This population gain has been attributed to the migration of persons out of urban into suburban and

rural areas to live. This movement has been attributed to a generally declining housing stock and the continued attraction of the rural area as a less congested and polluted environment in which to reside. Government recognition of this process was mainly due to the blatant severity of its effects on the urban environment. According to Government reports at the time, the urban-rural shift in population was often accompanied by the widespread physical decline of the built environment, particularly in inner cities. This, combined with the existing disparities between clearance and rebuilding, resulted in the creation of large areas of vacant and derelict land (HMSO 1977). This factor, in addition to the effects of deindustrialisation, produced an environment that was not conducive to either reinvestment or inward migration. Thus, the stage was set for the operation of a downward cycle of decline in many cities.

Regional disparities or regional decline was also a significant factor influencing and contributing towards the acceleration of urban decline during the post 1960 period. These disparities referred specifically to the growing socio-economic differences between the Northern and Southern areas of Britain and was often referred to as the north-south divide (Lewis and Townsend, 1989, p.21). According to Lewis and Townsend, the North may be defined as the standard regions of North, North-West, Scotland, Wales, West Midlands, Yorkshire and Humberside. The south is defined as East Anglia, East Midlands, South-East and South-West regions. The essence of this phenomena was that while the North of Britain continued to experience decline during the 1980s, the South, and particularly the South-East, experienced considerable growth and expansion. Martin (1988) attributes the development of this divide to the undermining forces of deindustrialisation and the rural-urban shift. The industrial periphery of the UK, that is places such as Scotland, Wales, the North and North-West regions, experienced the greatest effects of deindustrialisation. This is due to the fact that these regions were generally single industry

dependent and therefore the contraction in industry meant a greater loss of employment as well as the other adverse effects of deindustrialisation and the rural-urban shift. On the other hand, the regions which were less industrialised or had more diversified economies, such as London and the South-East in general, were less adversely affected by deindustrialisation. At the same time, these same regions benefited from the new wave of “tertiarization”, or service sector expansion taking place (Martin 1988). The net effect of this inverse relationship between deindustrialisation and tertiaryization during the 1970s and 1980s was an increasingly impoverished and declining economy in the north compared to a more expanding prosperous economy in the South and South-East. The economic differences between regions were evident in terms of employment as well as standards of living and opportunities available. Table 6 (overleaf) indicates the disparities in employment levels between 1979 and 1987 between the North and South. The North experienced a net loss in employment of -8.1 percent. This is significantly less than the national employment change level and is in direct contrast to the positive net change of 5.4 percent recorded in the South.

**Table 6 Change in Total Employment, 1979-87.**

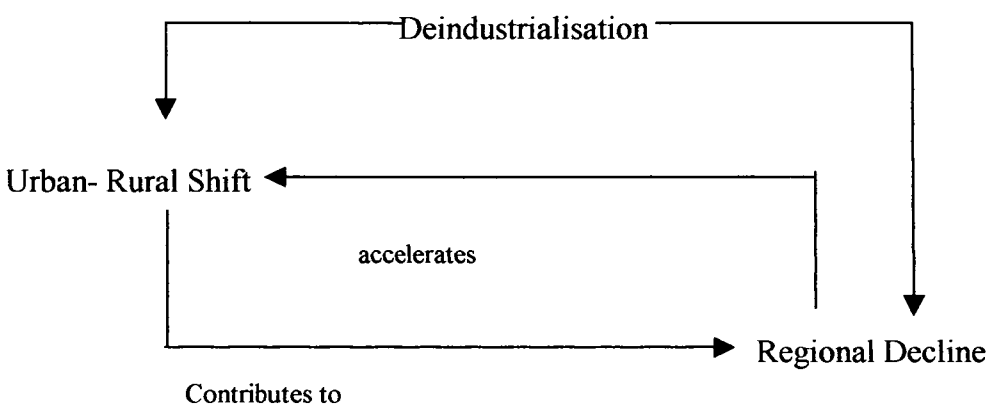
Region	1979	1987	Change, 1979-87	
			Nos. ('000)	%
South East	8,124	8,480	+ 356	+ 4.4
East Anglia	781	922	+ 141	+ 18.1
South West	1,744	1,870	+ 126	+ 7.2
East Midlands	1,671	1,717	+ 46	+ 2.8
Sub-total (South)	12,320	12,989	+669	+ 5.4
West Midlands	2,382	2,260	- 122	- 5.1
Yorkshire & Humberside	2,145	2,038	- 107	- 5.0
North West	2,890	2,541	- 349	- 12.1
North	1,325	1,198	- 127	- 9.6
Wales	1,157	1,011	- 146	- 12.6
Scotland	2,262	2,080	- 182	- 8.1
Sub-total (north)	12,161	11,128	-1,033	- 8.5
Great Britain	24,481	24,117	- 364	- 1.5

**Source : The North-South Divide J. Lewis & A. Townsend (eds.) p. 9**

The north-south regional disparities played a significant role in accelerating urban decline, particularly in the cities of the northern regions. The socio economic disparities were encouraged by the migration of individuals into the South and South-East region in search of new employment opportunities and the anticipation of a better standard of living. Thus, creating

a regional shift in population in addition to the urban-rural movement in population already occurring. Consequently, the factors influencing urban decline during this period were all intertwined and their combined operation produced the severe urban decline of the post 1960s period that caught the attention of government and local authorities. Figure 3 below illustrates the interaction of the relevant factors in the process.

**Figure 3 The Interaction of Factors which Contributed to Urban Decline.**



Source : The Author, 1999.

**3.3 The Development of Urban Policy**

Urban policy and specifically urban regeneration policy may be described as a response to the post nineteenth century and particularly the problems associated with the post World War II period in urban areas. The main problems and issues which required addressing at the time are summarised as the process of deindustrialisation, regional economic decline and the disparities in social and economic development between the north and south eastern parts of Britain (Atkinson and Moon 1994). The decline in most urban areas at this time could be attributed to

the operation of one or all of these factors. Urban policy in Britain developed in the post 1960 period as the panacea to those issues. It has often been suggested that prior to 1960, the problem of urban decline was not fully recognised or accepted by governments and city authorities. Much effort was concentrated on the planned decentralisation and dispersal of urban populations and urban problems. This era heralded the development of New Towns as a response to overcrowding in cities and also provided new locations for the dispersal of manufacturing industries and jobs. The dispersal measures were also aimed, to some extent at controlling the trend towards regional decline also occurring simultaneously. In addition to these measures the newly elected Labour Government of 1945 embarked on the establishment of a universal welfare state designed to eradicate poverty and ensure the transformation of British cities into more favourable environments (Gamble 1974). The approach to this was generally physical and included measures such as slum clearance and the reconstruction of housing on Greenfield sites in what has been described as the “sanitary approach” (Atkinson and Moon 1994). This approach was based on the theory that urban poverty stemmed from poor housing conditions and that the renewal of the housing stock would help to eradicate poverty. It was also proposed that the new welfare system would fully assist the few who remained in poverty and that poverty would eventually be eradicated.

During the 1960s however poverty was “rediscovered” in the inner cities in Britain and it was recognised that it had survived in spite of the implementation of the welfare state and policies and regardless of the increase and improvement in the housing stocks. At this time poverty was attributed to the behavioural traits and patterns of individuals in what has been termed the “social pathology” of poverty (Townsend 1972). Therefore, according to this theory, individuals were responsible for their own state of poverty through their behaviour. With the recognition

that poverty still existed came the realisation that parts of cities or urban areas were in decline. This decline was not merely regarded as the physical deterioration of housing stock and buildings, but also the breakdown of traditional industries, loss of jobs and economic downturn. The then British Government recognised the need for an explicit urban policy to effectively deal with these problems.

Urban policy in the UK has been altered and transformed in various ways at various points in the post 1960 period. Generally, urban policy may be analysed through three main theories or perspectives. According to the pluralist perspective, overwhelming concentrations of power did not exist in democratic societies, but rather, power was widely dispersed (Dahl 1961). This perspective was used to describe the nature of liberal democratic societies during the post 1950s period in contrast with the totalitarian societies of the USSR and Eastern Europe. When applied to urban policy, the neo-pluralists this suggests that urban decline and urban problems are caused by the combined effects of individual decisions and interests (Atkinson and Moon, 1994). As such urban policy must reflect incentives and initiatives designed to appeal to the needs and interests of the agencies and individuals involved. This approach has been criticised by Marxist theorists who argue that concentrations of power and dominant interests exist in democratic societies (Clegg 1989).

The Marxist perspective has also been applied to the development and analysis of urban policy. Primarily, this theory is founded on the class conflict is at the basis of capitalist society. The upper class, the “bourgeoisie” owns the means of production and the power, while the working class, the “proletariat” is in constant conflict with the owners of the means of production in an effort to escape their subordinate position. According to Marx and Engels 1968 (Atkinson and

Moon, 1994), the state is not neutral in this conflict but rather serves the interests of the bourgeoisie and serves to maintain the capitalist order of society and the status quo. Marxists also suggest the crucial importance of the city in the post war period in the promotion and facilitation of capitalism. They therefore argue that urban decline does not occur in isolation but rather has roots in the more general economic decline taking pace at the time. As a result, Marxists regard the role of local government as vital to the reversal in trends of urban decline. The impact of such doctrines was seen through the development of a new urban left policy among several local government authorities in urban areas (Lansley et al, 1989). This policy development required the local governments play a greater role in urban policy formation and implementation and was often a source of conflict between the ruling conservative government and the generally Labour controlled local governments (Atkinson and Moon, 1994).

The New Right approach to urban policy has had a significant impact on the development of urban policy for a long time in the UK as a whole. This approach is based on the theory or assumption that investment in the physical aspects of the urban fabric, that is, the infrastructure, will trickle down into the deprived sectors and communities. As such, New Right urban policy has been characterised by massive infrastructural investments such as the increased use of flagship projects and physical developments, with a major role being played by the private sector in the process. This private sector - like response was a prevalent feature of the Thatcher government which was elected to power in 1979. Inherent in this policy approach was also the need for reduced state influence and intervention in urban economics as exemplified by a relaxation of a rigid planning control system. Of major importance however was the perceived role of the market and the increased role of the private sector in the rejuvenation of the urban

economy. This was also evident in the increased privatisation of state services and infrastructure during this period (Hayek 1960).

The New Right policy had its origins in the United States and was translated in the UK as an attack on the planning system, its policies and objectives. Proponents of this policy suggest that at the time planning was restrictive in nature, with planners imposing their own values on the rest of society (Thornley, 1991). This view was particularly in the context of the zoning nature of planning at the time, which attempted to exclude certain activities and land uses from the city. Thus, the New Right policy in general represented an attempt to reduce the role of planning in urban policy implementation, while ensuring an increased role for market forces and private sector influences (Ambrose, 1986).

### **3.4 Urban Policy, Post 1979 Period**

The 1980s have often been regarded as a turbulent period for the British economy and for urban environments as a whole. During this period urban decline and its surrounding issues and problems came into focus in terms of government policy and approaches in an unprecedented manner. As a consequence, the need for an explicit and specific policy to deal with the problems of this decline and to ensure a rejuvenation of urban areas in decline became necessary. The newly elected Conservative government of 1979, led by Margaret Thatcher, in recognition of this need embraced and applied the New Right approach to the process by implementing measures which were mainly focussed in economic regeneration. The approach was based on the belief that economic regeneration, led by infrastructural investments and developments, would provide the impetus required for the total regeneration of urban areas.

The role of the property market and investors was regarded as being intrinsic to the process of economic regeneration. Incentives to economic development and regeneration were provided in the form of physical infrastructure which would permit the growth of the service based industries that were gradually emerging as the dominant industrial sector at the time. The provision of new infrastructure was based on the supply- side operations of the property markets. That is, if sufficient quality infrastructure in the form of large office spaces were provided, these would attract the relevant service industries which would expand the employment opportunities in areas of urban decline. This approach was also based on the premise that the new service industries would replace the heavy industries which had declined during the latter half of the century. As a consequence, employment opportunities would be recreated for those former employees in the deteriorating heavy industries. Much evidence however alludes to the fact that although strides were made in reviving economic activity in areas of urban decline during the 1980s, most indications are that the local residents of communities were unable to take advantage of the new employment opportunities and were generally non-beneficiaries of the economic improvements in the local area.

### **3.5 The Property- Led Approach To Regeneration**

Urban policy during the 1980s was dominated by an emphasis on land and property-led urban regeneration in Britain. The development and implementation of this policy was a consequence of the shift in policy by the ruling Conservative party in an effort to effectively reverse the trend towards urban decline in British cities (Lloyd & Black 1993). This policy formed part of the government's New Right ideology and market-led approach towards the economy as well as urban policy. The focus of this approach was multifaceted. The primary focus was the need for

less government intervention in planning concerns, greater liberalisation and a greater freedom of market forces in bringing about positive changes (Loney 1986). These measures were adopted on the basis of perceived economic and political advantages associated with them. The previous interventionist approaches implemented were seen as restrictive in nature and crowding out private sector interests in the market. Thus, with greater freedom given to market forces, the private sector could then play an important role, as previously, in the development of cities (Lloyd & Black 1993). Attempts to reduce government control in planning concerns were made through the development of Enterprise Zones. These were specific areas of economic decline where government regulations were relaxed in an effort to encourage to return of enterprise and industry. It was anticipated that the establishment of businesses and industry in those areas would reverse the economic decline by providing employment opportunities for the local residents. This policy was additionally associated with the concept of area-based policies which emphasised the use of positive discrimination of areas where decline was particularly severe. The property-led approach was also accepted as being important through its ability to cause the spatial targeting of specific areas of decline. This was accepted as being of greater effectiveness than the macro-economic policies of the past, which did not always address the problems and issues in local areas.

Property development may be defined as the assembly of finance, land, building materials and labour for occupational and investment purposes ( Healey 1990). Generally, this development takes place in the form of industrial, commercial and infrastructural property and has traditionally been recognised as a private sector response to the demands of industry, commerce and households. However, since the post-war period, governments have often used property development as a regulatory tool of macro economic management. The property-led approach

was also embraced by the government as a result of what was recognised as the economic advantage of creating employment through the construction projects and initiatives (Turok 1992). Turok also suggests five main links which exist between property development and the development of the urban environment as follows :

- The development of construction activity which may result in increased employment opportunities.
- Promotion of indigenous growth within industries and companies as new buildings accommodate expanding communities.
- The generation and increase of inward investment within the city as firms are encouraged relocate to occupy new accommodation.
- Neighbourhood revitalisation. Physical improvements attract investors and residents.
- Local economic restructuring. City wide redevelopment and economic diversification.

Some of these links, such as the construction activity, are described as specific to the particular sites where the regeneration whereas others, such as economic restructuring, relate to area wide objectives. In the same light, Turok (1992) differentiates between the intended immediate impacts such as the construction activities and the longer term impacts such as economic restructuring. Another perceived advantage of this approach was the idea that the additional floorspace provided through this approach would stimulate the development of an environment which would attract new enterprise investment as well as the expansion of existing enterprises. This would provide additional employment opportunities within the area and would help to stimulate the local economy into revitalisation (Wannop 1991). Government reliance and attraction to the property-led approach to development and regeneration also lies in the traditional link between property development and the private sector. This is supportive of the

concept that private sector involvement should be an integral part of economic development and regeneration of cities.

The property-led economic regeneration strategy was implemented throughout the development and use of agency-led measures which initiated property-led schemes by liberalising the development of land and property by landowners and developers (Lloyd & Black 1993). This policy was adopted mainly in England and resulted in the formation of Urban Development Corporations as the agencies with executive powers over land and property in specific localities.

Property-led regeneration does not however possess all the solutions for declining economies in declining cities. As such, this approach has been subject to much evaluation and criticism in terms of the assumptions made concerning its objectives and effects where implemented. This is particularly in the light of the quantities of public funds injected into property-led regeneration schemes and agencies responsible for these schemes. Much evidence indicates the relatively low effect of property development in terms of construction employment creation. Increased construction activity in the economy does not necessarily lead to more employment as the nature of the construction activity does not necessarily suggest that a greater number of employees is required (Turok 1992). In addition, the level of skills available within the local area is often quite limited so that they generally have to accept jobs that are insecure in terms of longevity and pay (Turok and Wannop 1990). In this regard, McGregor (1990) suggests that the level of employment and training places generated by property-led development measures is typically quite modest. Thus this approach provides only a limited response to this aspect of employment generation. In this light, construction may be regarded as having an insufficiently wide base for generating local economic regeneration in a durable and lasting manner.

The link between property development and the growth of indigenous firms is one that is relatively vague and not necessarily direct. Many indicators suggest that the provision of new suitable property has resulted in the growth and revival of industries in the past (Turok 1992). However, whereas suitable property is of vital importance to the performance of firms, the availability of new property with often higher rents may not always induce greater expansion within firms. In fact, relocation to such premises may result in adverse consequences for those firms whose weak performance and profitability levels could be affected by high rents and property taxes.

The attraction of inward investments has been one of the main objectives of the property-led approach. In England, the Urban Development Corporations often developed land and buildings in the hope of attracting new large companies into cities. This approach was first exemplified through the development of Enterprise Zones. These were geographical areas within which government regulations and taxes were relaxed in order to encourage investment through the relocation of firms. This would then produce spillover and multiplier effects throughout the city (Atkinson and Moon 1994). The evaluation of this approach has indicated that although, relatively large numbers of firms relocated, the effects of additionality and displacement were significant (Massey 1982). Many firms had relocated from areas of high deprivation, thus resulting in a mere displacement of the unemployment problem (PA Cambridge 1987). Thus, in the same light, the use of property development to attract investment may also have high displacement levels and high effects of additionality. This is particularly so as firms are often motivated to relocate as a result of factors that are not related to the social objectives pursued by the public sector.

The property-led approach has generally been criticised on several counts for its relative ineffectiveness in ensuring the regeneration of urban areas as a whole. Although the physical achievements of this approach often stand out in the form of large flagship developments, it has been suggested that land reclamation and redevelopment has not kept pace with the creation of derelict sites in several areas (Audit Commission 1989). In addition, the supporting infrastructure such as transport and communications are often non-existent or insufficient for the type of structures created (Turok 1992). Much of the property-led approaches also follow a piecemeal form of development with isolated local projects being the main focus. However, according to Turok, this type of development does have the power or resources to bring about a holistic form of regeneration. The property-led approach has also been criticised for placing too great an emphasis on property development with an inadequate focus on training and social issues. Consequently, although the physical base for regeneration may exist, the lack of social initiatives in the process may render the physical measures obsolete. Thus, it is suggested that rather than being the “panacea” for urban decline, property-led regeneration should be merely the physical base for the initiation of other social, economic and training measures (Turok 1992). Thus, the role for appropriate property development lies in a greater holistic approach where consideration is given to the deprived local communities and the underlying conditions of the local economy.

### **3.6 The Urban Development Corporations**

Urban Development Corporations (UDCs) were first introduced in England through the Local Government and Planning Act 1980. These were quasi-government agencies assigned to specific localities for the main purpose of being the chief authority responsible for planning and development issues. The localities were referred to as Urban Development Areas and were designated by the Secretary of State, as were the Urban Development Corporations. With respect to planning and development, the UDCs were designed to replace the local government planning authority in terms of development control and, in doing so, would remove some of the constraints and bureaucracy which were perceived as hindering the operation of market forces and private sector investment. In addition, a majority of local authorities at the time were Labour controlled and this rendered some measure of suspicion towards the extent of their powers by the ruling Conservative Government. However, UDCs did not possess plan making authority and were expected to take account of existing plans in making decisions, but were not bound by them. The UDCs were expected to bring buildings and land into effective use, to encourage the development and expansion of new and existing industry, to create attractive environments and to encourage people to live and work in the local areas (Local Government and Planning Act 1980). Thus, their primary focus was to take necessary action to stem the urban decline taking place in the local areas. This approach would be implemented through the acquisition and reclamation of land, the construction of buildings and infrastructure and providing the necessary finance to developers. Generally, the UDCs were expected to take whatever necessary steps towards achieving the economic regeneration of their areas through the development of land and property (Lloyd & Black 1993). Between 1981 and 1992 thirteen UDCs were established in England, with the largest in terms of grants and expenditure being the

London Docklands Development Corporation. The UDCs were generally financed through grant-aid from the central government. In addition, they were expected to lever private sector funding for specific projects. Table 7 (overleaf) indicates that the expenditure of each UDC varied, with the London Docklands by far receiving the largest share of financing. The amount of expenditure was generally dependent on the size and complexity of the projects undertaken.

Several UDCs were involved in the regeneration of waterfronts within their urban development area. This may be attributed to the fact that much of the effects of urban decline were evident along the waterfronts and harbours of the cities. The primary reason for this was the fact that much of the former industrial production took place at these locations and therefore they were worst hit by the effects of deindustrialisation. In addition to this, the waterfront was viewed as a major frontier of the city and, as such was a prime location for flagship developments which could be used to market the city and therefore attract investment. This, in fact is one of the most recognised area of UDC involvement and they have often been praised for opening up waterfronts and creating facilities which local residents can enjoy. In this same light however, the extent to which these facilities have caused the regeneration of areas and the improvement in the quality of life of the residents is the subject of much debate.

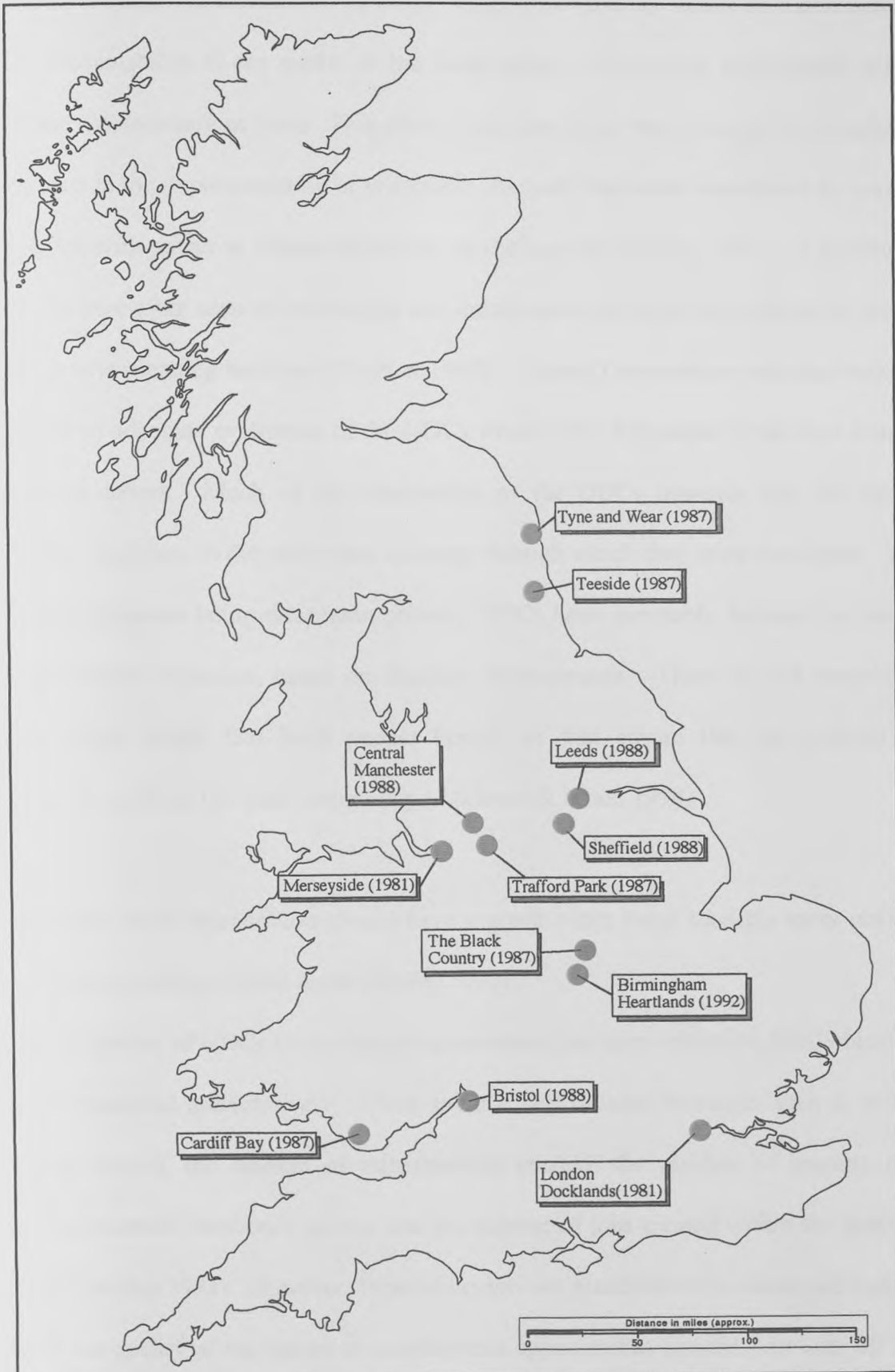
**Table 7 UDC Size of Local Area and Expenditure 1990-92 (£ million)**

Name	Size (hectares)	Expenditure 1990/1	Expenditure 1991/2
London Docklands	2226	332	225
Merseyside	1500	24	25
Black Country	2598	32	33
Cardiff Bay	1089	31	34
Teeside	4858	38	36
Trafford Park	1267	29	30
Tyne and Wear	2375	38	36
Bristol	360	10	7
Central Manchester	187	14	16
Leeds	540	14	8
Sheffield	900	19	13
TOTAL		581	463

Source : Urban Policy in Britain: Atkinson and Moon 1994, p.145

The UDCs involved in waterfront development projects included the London Docklands Development Corporation, the Tyne & Wear Development Corporation, Teeside Development Corporation, Merseyside Development Corporation and Cardiff Bay Development Corporation. UDCs were located through out England and Wales, but none were developed in Scotland, where another approach to urban regeneration was implemented. Figure 4 (overleaf) indicates the geographical of the UDCs in England and Wales.

Figure 4: Location of Urban Development Corporations in England and Wales



source: The Author

The UDCs have been the subject of considerable controversy from the time of their implementation till they were dissolved in 1998. One of the primary issues of contention was the lack of accountability to the public in the local areas. UDCs were accountable only to Parliament and the Secretary of State. This often meant that there was little public consultation and involvement in the implementation of proposals. As such, they were considered by many to be undemocratic with power to impose initiatives on the locality (Bintley 1993). In addition to this, the UDCs were often seen to be arrogant and uninterested in public consultation as well as pursuing short term planning horizons (Coulson 1990). Central Government was also criticised for the absence of adequate evaluation of the UDCs which were designated in the first instance before declaring others. Much of the weaknesses of the UDCs however may be directly attributed to the weakness in the policy and ideology through which they were developed. With property-led development being their main priority, UDCs have inevitably focussed on narrow physical regeneration strategies, based on flagship developments. These do not contain the mechanisms which ensure that local people benefit or that ensure that the projects are appropriate to the needs of the local community (Atkinson & Moon 1994).

This suggests that urban regeneration should have a much wider focus than the mere physical and economic restructuring of local areas (Bintley 1993).

Much of the evaluation of UDCs by the central government has been related to fixed objectives and indicators measured quantitatively. These include performance measures such as private sector funding levered, the amount of infrastructure created, the number of housing units constructed, commercial floorspace created and the number of jobs created within the specified period of time (Bintley 1993). However, these indicators are quantitative in nature and indicate nothing about the quality of the spaces or employment opportunities created. As with all area

based initiatives, there is often little indication of who benefits from infrastructure and employment creation. One study of Manchester indicated that 50 percent of those employed within the Urban Development Area (the city centre) are from outside the administrative boundary (Bintley 1993). This creates some doubt as to whether the UDCs are really assisting the local community. In addition, there are suggestions that the jobs being created are not new, but rather relocated employment (Barnekov 1989). This issue of displacement of industry and jobs was also one levelled at the Enterprise Zone initiative. However many argue that this is a necessary evil of area-based initiatives where some amount of positive discrimination is exercised. Although, towards the end of their existence, many UDCs began to incorporate community development objectives which included skills and training programmes, the implementation of these objectives were still overshadowed by finance and property concerns in light of the down turn in the property market during the early 1990s.

The successes of the UDCs often created new difficulties and problems. Bintley (1993) suggests that the regeneration and property development activities of the UDCs sometimes resulted in the raising of property values and rents. The rent increases were often detrimental to the very industries which the UDCs attempted to preserve and encourage. This put the viability of industry and employment at risk and therefore worked to counteract the aims of the corporations. UDCs have also been criticised on account of pursuing a site by site approach which involved the use of flagship projects. This was often carried out with disregard for the wider urban context, and resulted in non-integrative projects that did not necessarily correspond to the existing infrastructure and services. This is exemplified in the Liverpool City Council's (1989) question of whether the resources of the UDC could not have been better targeted at areas where people live rather than 'empty wastelands'. In this light, the ability of the UDCs to

achieve a filter down effect through its projects is indeed questionable. Another criticism of the UDCs which is applicable to the entire property-led approach is its reliance on a booming property market. The example of the Canary Wharf development project headed by the London Docklands Development Corporation indicates the risks inherent in the over dependence on the property market. In 1989, the property boom ended with several property companies crashing as a result. Among these was the international company supporting the development of the Canary Wharf, Olympia & York. As a result, the project, which included several thousand square feet of office floorspace, was forced into receivership, with only 14 percent of the floorspace occupied in 1997 (Atkinson & Moon 1994). Although UDCs are expected to lever private sector expenditure through upfront public sector investments, the large quantities of financial resources involved, have raised the question as to whether the UDCs are really subsidising the private sector (Barnekov et al., 1989).

### **3.7 Property-led Regeneration : the Scottish Approach**

The economic regeneration of cities using the property-led approach assumed different characteristics in Scotland, where Urban Development Corporations were not established. In 1975 the Scottish Development Agency was established with developmental responsibilities for the section of Scotland which excluded the Highlands and Islands region. This was similar to the Highlands and Islands Enterprise Board, which was established in 1965 with responsibility for the said regions. The Scottish Development Agency was developed in response to what was seen as the continued decline of the Scottish economy (Cullingworth and Nadine, 1998). The role of the SDA was to provide, maintain and safeguard industry and employment. This was to be done through a series of measures designed to attract inward investment and improved

technology within Scotland. This body was given the remit to establish companies which focussed on specific regions within Scotland. Thus, in this respect, it was not completely unlike the UDCs in England. The rationale for the development of the SDA was that the local authorities did not have the expertise to promote the local growth and overseas investments that were vital to the recovery of the economy (Cullingworth & Nadine 1998). However, unlike the UDCs the Scottish Development Agency was not structure to undermine the role of local authorities and other agencies involved in regeneration. The SDA became involved in the area-based initiative known as the Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal project (GEAR). This project was based on the physical renewal and development of eastern Glasgow, an area subject to all the negative effects of deindustrialisation and urban decline. In this project large quantities of public funding were injected into the physical improvements of the local area. The housing stock was refurbished and the environment improved drastically. The evaluation of the project indicated that job creation and environmental improvements were impressive (Cullingworth & Nadine 1998). However, although the physical improvements were evident at the time, indications are that the underlying social and economic conditions which existed still remain. Additionally, the completion of the GEAR project has had little or no impact in terms of reducing the loss of population from Glasgow. This may be attributed to the fact that the GEAR project produced high rise housing types, which were unsuitable for families.

In 1990 Scottish Enterprise was established under the Enterprise and New Towns (Scotland) Act 1990 as a Non-Departmental Public Body. Scottish Enterprise was basically developed as the amalgamation of the functions of the SDA and the Training Agency in Scotland. Consequently, the agency was formed with the aim of furthering the development of the Scottish economy along with the aims of maintaining and increasing the level of skills within the population of the

area. In this context, Scottish Enterprise was given the general objectives of safeguarding employment, enhancing skills, promoting industrial efficiency and competitiveness, and improving the environment (Scottish Enterprise Network Strategy, 1995). As such, Scottish Enterprise was developed as the primary institution responsible for economic development in Scotland, with the exception of the Highlands and Islands regions that are the responsibility of Highlands and Islands Enterprise. Scottish Enterprise is provided with guidance and financial resources from the Scottish Office, and as such, is accountable to that office in the main. In order to carry out its objectives, the Scottish Enterprise has been given a mandate to establish Local Economic Companies (LECs) in the various regions under its jurisdiction. In April 1991, in compliance with this, thirteen LECs were established under the strategic guidance of Scottish Enterprise. Thus the Glasgow Development Agency (GDA) was established in 1991 as the principal agent responsible for economic development in the city of Glasgow. The GDA, like all LECs, receives strategic guidance and funding from Scottish Enterprise and is the largest LEC within the Scottish Enterprise Network in terms of its budget. In addition to the funds obtained from Scottish Enterprise, the GDA also has the capacity to lever funds from other sources such as the private sector European Regional Development Fund and the European Social Fund. The GDA has developed objectives and programmes designed to contribute to the following functions of Scottish Enterprise (GDA Strategic Plan, 1995-98)

- The promotion of economic development
- The effective management of Government training programmes
- The development, redevelopment and improvement of the environment.

As is evident from the objectives stated above, the GDA has economic as well as social objectives and, as such may be described as an improvement over UDCs, which were generally

focussed on economic objectives. The GDA however is not the sole agency responsible for economic development. The Glasgow City Council, Scottish Homes and the local initiatives such as Govan Initiatives also include some sort of economic development objectives in their strategy. The objectives of the GDA have generally been pursued with the development of physical infrastructure to attract business investment, support for training programmes and business support programmes. Additionally, the agency has been involved in major projects aimed at reducing derelict land sites in the city. Much of the criticism levelled at the GDA however, stems from the relative lack of accountability to the public in general. The agency is accountable to Scottish Enterprise and the Scottish Office and as such, is often perceived to be operating beneath a shroud of isolation and secrecy. In recent times, however attempts have been made to alter this through the development of the Glasgow Alliance. The Glasgow alliance is a partnership agency aimed at ensuring the regeneration of Glasgow at a city-wide level. The partners in this agency include the GDA, the Glasgow City Council, Scottish Homes, and the private and voluntary sectors. This therefore helps to present a multi-agency approach to the task of urban regeneration in Scotland. This approach is the best way to ensure that plans embrace the views of the development agencies, while remaining locally accountable and responsive (Robertson, 1998).

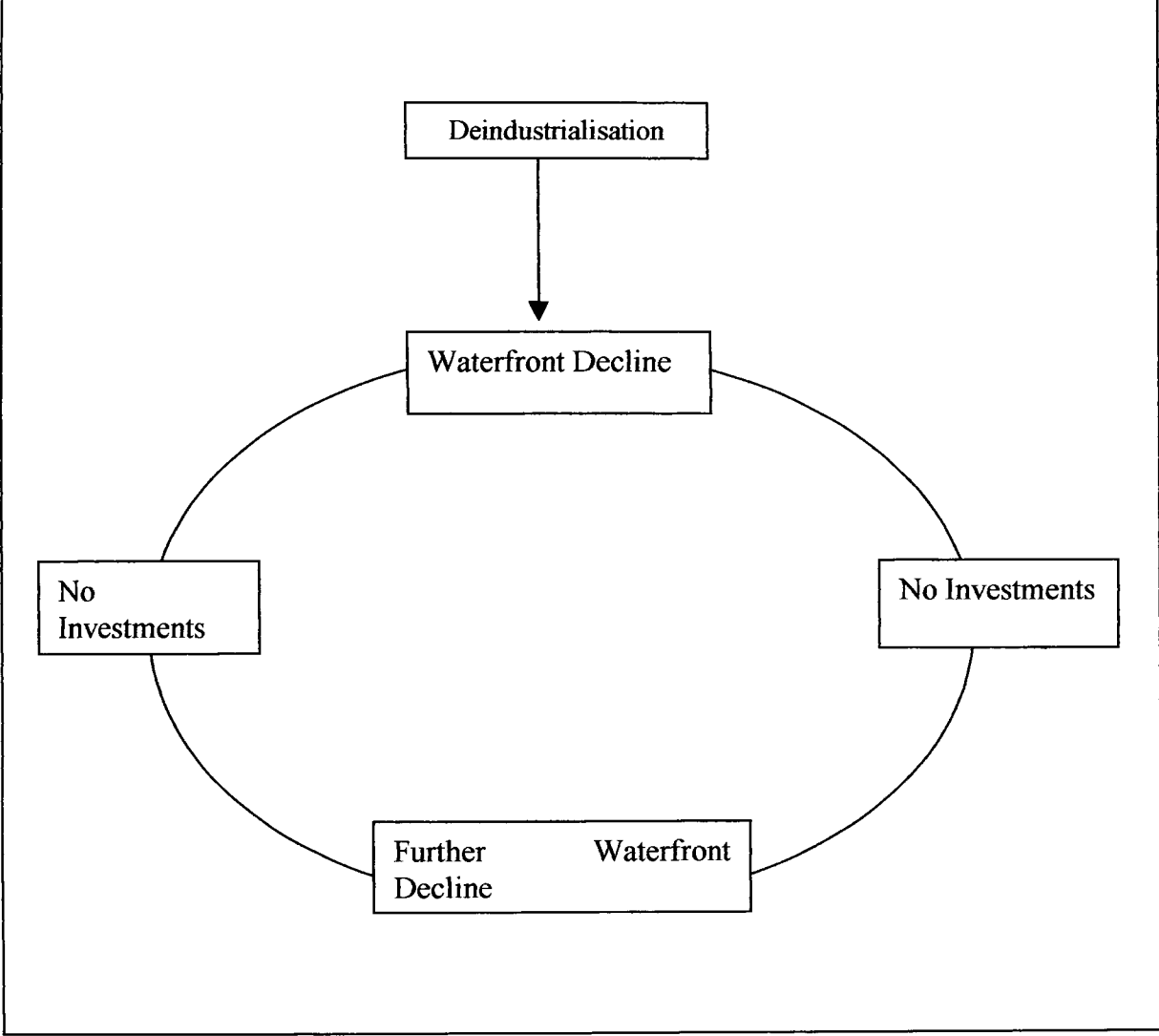
### **3.8 Waterfront Regeneration**

Waterfront regeneration has been a key part of the property-led approach pursued by the conservative. Much of the impetus for this type of initiative was drawn from examples of American cities where formerly derelict watersides were transformed into brilliant, world renowned projects. Waterfronts were often targeted for regeneration projects since they were

often most susceptible to the adverse effects of deindustrialisation and the resultant dereliction. Most of the land surrounding waterfronts in European cities have been subject to previous uses and are therefore areas of high risk in terms of development, as the costs of revitalising the land are often high (Fleming 1991). However, waterfronts have also held the unique attraction as urban frontiers, thus highlighting the need for their revitalisation (Breen & Rigby 1996). The main attraction of the waterfront as far as the development agencies are concerned, however, lie in the fact that the waterfront often highlight the focus of urban decline in cities. This is attributed to the fact that most industries were located along waterfronts, this being their major function. However, the massive deindustrialisation of city centres has reduced the function of these areas. In addition, changes in technology have resulted in changes in the locational requirements of several industries, thus rendering the waterfront obsolete in some cases (Breen & Rigby 1996). An example of this is found in the reduced need for railroad holdings at the waterfront, which was often related to the increased use of shipping and consolidation of the railroads. The contraction of the shipbuilding industry in Newcastle also provided another example of the loss of function of the waterfront.

Waterfronts however, often present great difficulties in terms of regeneration and revitalisation. This is attributed to often poor perception of waterfront areas in terms of business and enterprise development. These areas are often characterised by vacant and deteriorating landscapes, disintegrating, crime-ridden communities and contaminated land spaces (Syms 1993). As a result, investors are generally reluctant to move into these waterfront areas, and the lack of investment and employment opportunities contributed to the further decline of the areas, which, in turn discourages further investment (Law 1988). Figure 5 (overleaf) illustrates the cyclical nature of this decline.

**Figure 5 The Cyclical Nature of Waterfront Decline**



**Source : The Author, 1999**

The changed perception of waterfront areas is therefore vital to the success of any waterfront regeneration initiative as it is through this altered perception that investors will be encouraged to contribute to its revitalisation.

Waterfronts are often perceived as ideal localities for the development of flagship projects by UDCs and other development agencies. These flagship projects are usually developed in

keeping with the concept and objectives of marketing the city. This place marketing is done in the hope of attracting overseas capital investments, consumer spending and affluent or highly skilled migrants in an effort to achieve economic regeneration of urban areas. As such, waterfront regeneration projects are often criticised as being property and marketing oriented with little concern being shown for the local communities which expect to obtain some benefits from the process.

### **3.9 City Marketing as a Strategy For Development**

The concept of city marketing took root during the 1980s and has remained a part of the urban policy for city to the present. The idea behind marketing the city is to create strategies to promote an area or the entire city for certain activities or to sell parts of the city (Smyth, 1994, p. 2). The concept of city marketing is based on the assumption that the marketing initiatives will attract particular types of investments into the city and that this will help to revive the city's economy. The city marketing strategy is therefore also founded in the trickle down concept of economic regeneration and development. The concept also developed during the period of emphasis on prestige developments as the catalyst for the regeneration of regeneration. According to Smyth (1994), city marketing may be pursued using several approaches, namely;

- Flagship projects facilitated through property development
- High profile prestige developments designed to attract economic growth projects
- Hallmark events such as Garden Festivals and Arts Festivals
- Civic Boosterism aimed at reconstructing the image of the city.

Flagship developments may be defined as being significant high profile developments which play an influential and catalytic role in the regeneration of cities and whose justification is their ability to attract further investment into the city (Smyth, 1994, p.4). Waterfront areas of cities have a long tradition of association with flagship developments. This may be attributed to the attraction of the waterfront as the ideal setting for the developments pursued. In addition, much of the physical regeneration taking place has been associated with waterfront areas hence forming the ideal background for the development of flagship projects. The regeneration of waterfront areas also often coincides with the very purpose of flagship developments. That is, to identify and indicate change for a city (Bianchini, Dawson and Evans, 1990). The change is more than physical in nature, but rather outlines the future or expected changes in the economic base of the city. This approach to regeneration has often been subject to criticism on the grounds that it is a rather expensive way to promote urban regeneration and does not always result in the expected “filtering down” of economic or social benefits for the city. Additionally, Wilkinson (1992), in his study of promotional developments at Newcastle upon Tyne, identifies the fragmentation of the city along development projects as a significant negative factor arising from flagship developments.

According to Wilkinson (1992, p.206), it is “ .....an approach concerned with superimposing fragments on the city rather than with the comprehensive planning of urban areas.” This suggests therefore that physical flagship developments may often be described as isolated development points within larger areas of decay (Bailey, 1995). As such, flagship developments and physical regeneration projects are useful and necessary parts of an urban regeneration strategy, but they are insufficient as sole attempts at regeneration of urban areas (Bianchini et al., 1992)

### **3.10 Urban Policy in the 1990s : The Social Focus**

The dominant urban policy of the late 1990s has been characterised by two main features. They are the importance of partnership in the regeneration process and the need for social objectives in the formation of strategies. Partnership may be defined as “.....a coalition of more than one sector in order to prepare and oversee an agreed strategy for the regeneration of a defined area.” (Bailey, 1995). As such a partnership in urban regeneration normally includes the public and private sectors as well as the local community and voluntary sectors of the society. The importance of the partnership approach has developed to the point where it has become an integral part of any proposals for regeneration that requires public funding. The role of partnerships has become evident in programmes such as City Challenge Initiatives and the Single Regeneration Budget in England. These programmes require the submission of partnership bids from local areas requesting financial support from government for their regeneration programmes. The areas are selected on a competitive basis and the funding is provided to selected areas. The bids are required to focus on the social as well as economic needs of the areas which they represent in order to be successful. Thus, there is an emphasis on both partnership and social objectives.

In Scotland, a similar approach has been pursued with the establishment of Priority Partnership Areas in 1994 and with the recent development of the Social Inclusion Programme. This programme is also based on the competitive allocation of funding resources for the regeneration of areas. The bids submitted by the areas are expected to include strong objectives that would help to increase the level of social and economic inclusion in the deprived areas. These programme are therefore implemented in light of the view that an holistic approach which

includes a range of strategies designed to achieve both property- related and social and economic objectives appears to be the most appropriate approach to urban regeneration at this time (Bailey, 1995). The limitations to this however lie in the conflict which often arises between local area needs and those of the urban area in general. However, this is primarily a disadvantage experienced with any local area policy where positive discrimination is practised.

## **Chapter 4**

### **Waterfront Regeneration : The Case of Newcastle upon Tyne**

#### **4.1 The Projects and Objectives**

The 1980s heralded initial recognition of the urban decline taking place in the Tyneside area. Much of the physical and social decline was centred along the Tyne waterfront area and spread into the adjacent communities of the East and West Ends as well as Sunderland. In view of the declining industries and the growth in derelict and vacant land space along the river, the local councils first identified the need for regeneration measures along the riverfront. However, the prevailing urban policy at the time did not place emphasis on the predominance of local councils in carrying out such policies, with the view that they were too cumbersome and lacked the necessary financial and political will to conduct these procedures. Thus in 1987, the Tyne and Wear Development Corporation (TWDC) was founded as a second generation UDC with the specific aim of regenerating the riverside and transforming it once more into a working river. The specific aims of the TWDC were as follows (TWDC, 1989) :

- To secure the regeneration of the Tyne and Wear Riverfront areas.
- To secure the operational completion of key flagship projects on the Newcastle Riverside
- To establish centres of excellence in industry, shopping, housing and leisure in the communities of Jarrow, Hebburn and South Shields in South Tyneside.
- To attract industries and businesses which add to the efficiency, creativity and comparative advantage of the local economy and provide an additional 2,000 jobs on average each year.
- To bring forward schemes providing new office and industrial floorspace.
- To initiate riverside housing of at least 800 dwellings.

- To integrate this programme with the local community by providing an additional 1,000 training places annually in skills relevant to the variety of developments.
- To initiate the development of a commercial scheme of national significance on the land west of Central Station in Newcastle.

In a manner which was typical of urban policy at the time, the TWDC outlined its proposals for regeneration in the form of a property led approach which focussed generally on the development of property and the physical marketing of the area.

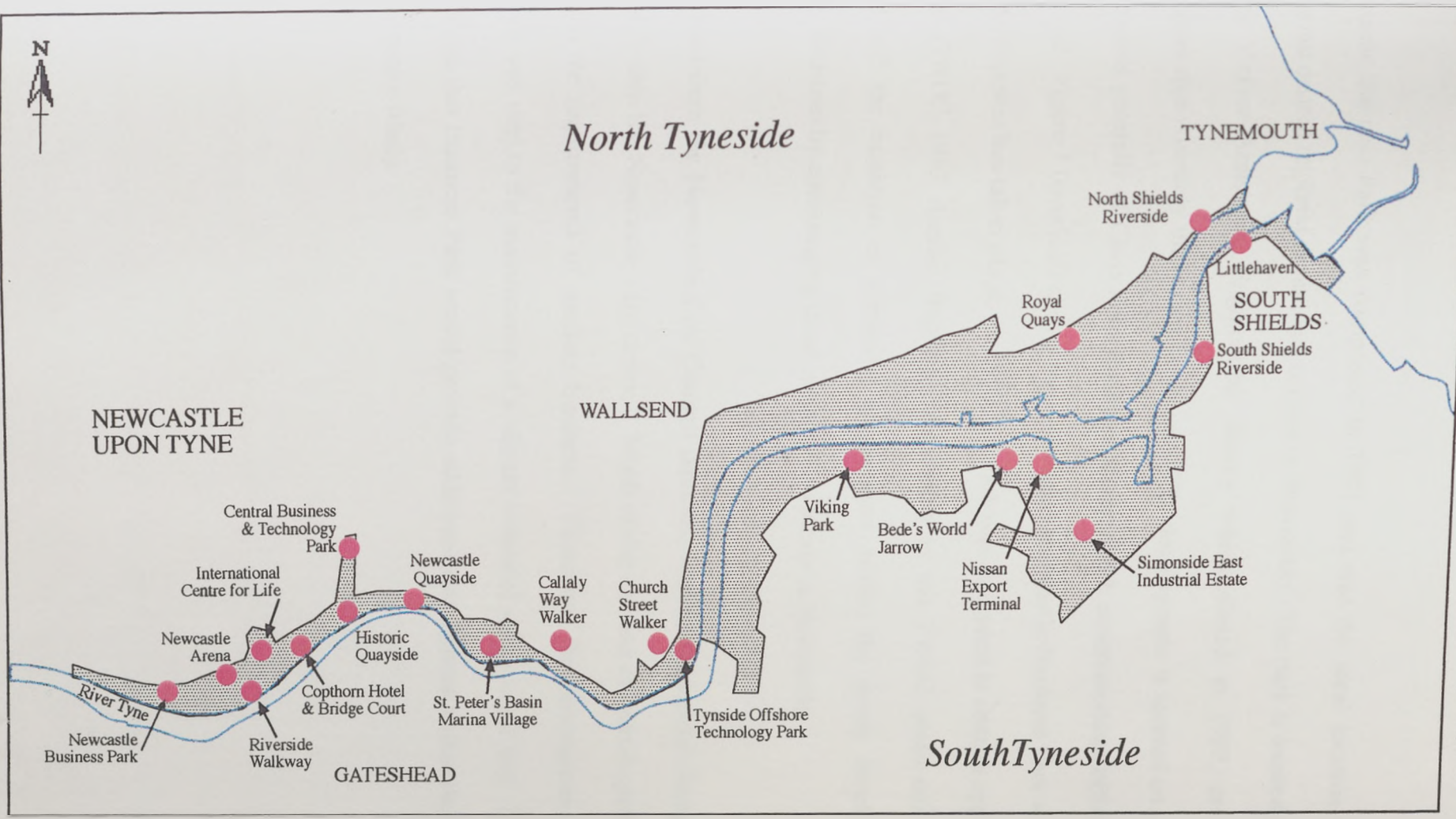
The Tyne and Wear Development Corporation was awarded jurisdiction over approximately 6000 acres of riverside land stretching over approximately 27 miles along the Tyne and Wear rivers. The land, often expanding into thin strips, exhibited a variety of characteristics in physical, economic and demographic terms. In most areas, industry had completely disappeared, leaving stretches of derelict and deteriorating land, while a few remnants of shipbuilding and marine engineering industries were evident on some sites. The resident population at the time within the area was approximately 1000. However, large resident communities existed along the outskirts of the TWDCs boundaries. These communities were direct results of the former industrial prosperity of the Tyne during the nineteenth century and, as such, were victims of the process of deindustrialisation taking place during the twentieth century. Thus the communities were generally areas of economic decline and the associated social problems of unemployment, poor housing conditions, crime and general deprivation. Consequently any attempt to regenerate the area would have an impact on those communities.

The achievements of the Tyne riverside regeneration took place in the form of several distinct flagship projects which were designed to help promote the TWDCs operations and the city as a whole. Some of the primary projects included :

- The Newcastle Business Park. This project offers modern office and business floorspace.
- Copthorne Hotel and Bridge Court
- Central Business and Technology Park
- Riverside Walkway
- Newcastle Quayside (with leisure facilities including cafes )
- Tyneside Offshore Technology Park

Figure 6 (overleaf) indicates the locations of the projects along the Tyne.

Figure 6: Map Showing the TWDC Area for Development along the Tyne River



## 4.2 The Newcastle Business Park

The Newcastle Business Park was completed in 1991 and was the ideal location for several businesses that desired regional or national offices in Newcastle. The park is located at Elswick, the former Vickers Armstrong Engineering factory which closed in 1982, and currently accommodates approximately thirty two businesses. The development is located on a sixty acre site and consists generally of Class Four Business Space which accommodates office and light industrial uses. Figure 7 (overleaf) shows the completed Newcastle Business Park where much physical development has taken place. In 1992, the Park was estimated to contain approximately 3,143 jobs (TWDC 1992 Annual Report). According to the TWDC plans this park was developed with the intention of attracting employment within the newly developing high technology industries by encouraging these industries to locate in Newcastle.

As one official from the Newcastle City Council reported, “modern industrial floorspace is in short supply within the Newcastle City centre.” Much of the existing industrial space does not comply with the requirements of modern business. Therefore, the construction of a new business park was vital to the maintenance of a vibrant industrial sector in the city. In addition, it was expected that Business Park would provide additional employment within the local area and in the city as a whole.



Source : Transforming the Riversides, TWDC, 1996.

### 4.3 Inward Investments and Regeneration

The Newcastle Business Park has been described as a success by available TWDC reports dated from 1989 to 1993. However this view is restricted by the indicators used to measure its success. Primarily, in terms of attracting and maintaining business investment, the park may be viewed as being successful since sixty two business have located there and additional space is sought by the City Council in order to extend the project so that more businesses can be accommodated. However, this view must be regarded sceptically since the lack of quality business space within the city centre has been a contributing factor in the relocation of several businesses from their city centre locations into the new Business Park. Indeed, the research carried out within the area indicated that approximately seventy five percent of the businesses located at the Newcastle Business Park had relocated there from other parts of the city centre. This suggests that there was substantial displacement of industries and firms rather than the attraction of new enterprises into the area. Thus, this presents some limitations to the extent to which the project may be regarded as a success in terms of attracting new business and enterprises to the city. Interviews held with a sample of businesses at the Business Park revealed some of the reasons for the relocation of companies to the Business Park. This included the following ;

- The quality of floorspace available at the business park ( in terms of modern requirements of floorspace and infrastructure )
- Car parking facilities were more suitable than those found within the city centre
- Good rates on property in terms of rentals and lease conditions (Enterprise Zone incentives, as the site was located within an Enterprise Zone initiated in 1981 for 10 years)
- Easy access to the A1M Motorway

- Good facilities available on site

It must be noted however that the availability of a local workforce and the proximity to local community labour force did not have a significant influence on the decision to locate at the Business Park. Therefore, this indicates that the businesses did not significantly consider their location as a possible influence in the economic regeneration of the surrounding local communities. Their decision to locate was generally one of business and financial concerns rather than that of social considerations and objectives.

#### **4.4 Employment Opportunities and the Local Communities**

An survey of the businesses located at the Business Park indicates that they are generally high technology business operations. Table 8 (overleaf) indicates a sample of the businesses located at the Business Park and the type of operations taking place there.

**Table 8 A Sample of Businesses Located at the Newcastle Business Park**

Number	Name of Company/Firm	Type of Business Activity
1	British Airways	Telephone Sales
2	Miller Homes	House Building and Sales
3	PB Power	Power Engineering Consultancy
4	Bryant Homes Ltd.	House Building and Sales
5	Pointer Alarms Ltd.	Alarm Systems Installation
6	Typex U.K Ltd.	Software Support
7	Royal London Insurance	Insurance Sales
8	Benfield Motors Ltd.	Car Repair and Sales
9	Kodak Polychromes Graphics	Printing and Graphics Design
10	Lab Medical Services	Road Accident Consultancy
11	Siemens, Cerberus Division	Computer Software
12	IBM (U.K) Ltd.	Computer Software
13	Cellnet	Cellular Radio Operators
14	ICL (U.K) Ltd	Computer Software
15	Riverside News	News Agents

**Source : The Author 1999**

Since most of the businesses required relatively high levels of skills and training, their employees would require relatively high level of skills and even specialised technological skills.

Table 9 (overleaf) shows the levels of skills necessary for employment at the sample of firms taken at the Newcastle Business Park. The figures indicate that approximately eighty seven

percent of the firms interviewed required highly and technically skilled employees. The two firms which required relatively low levels of skills still required one or two skilled persons in management positions and so did not have an exclusively low skilled staff.

**Table 9 The Skills Level of Employees at the Business Park**

Skill Level	No. Of Firms Requiring Level
Skilled	8
Technically Skilled	5
Low-skilled	2
TOTAL	15

Source : The Author, 1999.

The highly and technically skilled type of employee is relatively scarce commodity in the adjacent communities of Byker and Walker. Therefore one may reasonably assume that the establishment of new businesses at the Business Park would have generally excluded most of the residents of these communities from any new employment opportunities which were presented at the time. This argument is supported by the fact that ninety five percent of the companies interviewed indicated a preference for highly skilled employees. This is reflected in the fact that of the sample of companies selected, ninety five percent were currently employing very few or no residents from the local adjacent communities. These companies also indicated that little or no consideration was given to the residence of the individual when selecting employees. This factor was preceded by the importance of individual skills and the company motivation for maximum output and returns. Thus little effort was made through policy or otherwise to ensure

that the local communities were included in the creation of new employment opportunities at the park.

#### **4.5 Construction Employment and Regeneration Strategies**

Much of the emphasis on property-led regeneration stemmed from the belief that the development of land, buildings and spaces would result in a boom in the construction industry, which would then have positive consequences for employment in the local communities. However, according to Hayton and Gray, (1995), “..... it did not necessarily follow that those individuals living in close proximity to the property based initiatives benefited from the jobs created.” The TWDC Mid-Term Report (Robinson et al., 1993), cites the lack of skills and training within the local areas as the primary factor hindering the inclusion of local residents in employment opportunities and indicates the need for the construction initiatives to help overcome this obstacle. The Newcastle City Council attempted to alleviate the problem through the establishment of the Newcastle Construction Initiative in 1993. Thus, it was seven years after the introduction of the TWDCs regeneration strategy that steps were taken to ensure that local residents were included in the regeneration process through their access to construction employment opportunities. Investigations into the operations of the TWDC also revealed that the large development firms such as AMEC Development Company, which were contracted to carry out projects often brought in their own skilled personnel therefore limiting the employment opportunities available to local residents in the first place.

## 4.6 Physical Area Regeneration

One of the primary aims and objectives of the TWDC's regeneration strategy was to ensure the renewal of derelict and contaminated land space along the riverfront. This was done with the aim of returning the land to economic use as well as improving the aesthetic quality of the waterfront in order to market the city as a place for investment, tourism and leisure activities. Much of the reported success of the TWDC's strategy has originated from this very visible aspect of the regeneration activity. The Corporation, through its strategy, ensured that a significant proportion of its designated area was returned to economic use and would once more play a part in the developing economy of the city. Table 10 below indicates the quantity of land redeveloped between 1987 and 1993.

**Table 10 Land Reclaimed and Investment Levels of the TWDC 1987-1993**

Year	Land Reclaimed (Acres)	TWDC Investments (£ m)
1987-1991	333	£ 250
1992	683	£ 453
1993	760	£ 530

**Source : TWDC Annual Reports 1991-1993**

As the table indicates, much previously derelict and unattractive land was reclaimed along the riverfront, thereby transforming it into a more pleasant environment which would accommodate both business and leisure activities.

The following are examples of projects designed specifically to revive the riverfront physically and aesthetically;

- The Newcastle Riverside Walkway - a new walkway constructed along three miles of the river with historical and regeneration interests.
- The Tyne Bridge
- Newcastle Quayside - a £ 170 million project spanning 25 acres and includes a business quarter, restaurants, bars, cafes, and an hotel, artistic sculptures and riverfront housing.
- Sandgate Steps - a focus on public art and features.

In terms of redevelopment of land, the TWDC strategy has achieved some success as is evident by the physical improvements in the general area. The corporation was also successful in the development of industrial and commercial floorspace, although this was done at relatively high costs. For instance, up to March 1992 the TWDC had developed 152,861 square metres of commercial and industrial floorspace at a total investment of £453 million, of which £293 million was private sector investment. Thus the TWDC was able to lever approximately sixty five percent of its finances from the private sector. However, beyond the eye-catching improvements to the riverfront lie the communities of Byker and the Walker which have remained virtually untouched by the physical renewal processes. The physical conditions in these communities remained quite deplorable during the implementation of the regeneration strategy to the extent that houses were being sold for virtually nothing in the mad rush for residents to move out of the areas. The Sun Newspaper Issue 8th July 1999 included the headline, "Buy 10 flats for a fiver to save a rundown area." This was in reference to the sale of flats at a price of fifty pence in North Benwell, part of the Newcastle's West End Area. This indicates that there was little trickle down effect in terms of community physical regeneration.

Part of the physical regeneration taking place with the TWDC strategy involved the construction of new riverside housing. The major projects included those at the Newcastle Quayside and North Shields area. However, these flats and riverside homes are generally of a luxurious type and therefore attract quite high rentals. This has meant that the residents from the local communities with limited financial resources have been unable to take advantage of the new housing in order to improve their conditions. In addition, the fact that the housing is unaffordable to most has meant that when residents of deprived areas such as Byker and Walker decide to move out of their areas, they tend to move out of the Newcastle City area itself. This has perpetuated the decline in the population of the city, a trend that began during the deindustrialisation phase in the post 1960s period. Recent figures reveal that more than three thousand people leave the city each year (Newcastle upon Tyne Economic Development Department, 1999), and the physical regeneration strategies pursued by the TWDC have done relatively little to stem this population drain.

The physical regeneration of the riverfront area of Newcastle may be quite misleading in terms of what has actually been achieved. Although economic, business and leisure activities have returned to the area, the extent to which the area has been regenerated is limited by the fact that most of the activity is based during the day. Thus, as one City Council described it, the regeneration ".....is generally a daytime activity, with people returning to their homes during the night. Although the area now contains numerous pubs and clubs designed for nighttime activity, efforts to attract a thriving community into the area have so far been unsuccessful. Thus, the extent of the success of the regeneration of the area lies in the general ghost town appearance of the area at night as generally it still remains an area where people work and play but few reside.

#### 4.7 Property-led Regeneration and Economic Development

A primary incentive for the development of the property led strategy of the TWDC was that the development of property would result in a trickle-down effect of economic development in both the immediate riverfront areas as well as the cities of Newcastle and Tyne as a whole. However the extent to which the TWDC strategies have been able to do this has been limited by the nature of the developments and the sectors which have benefited most from the developments. According to the TWDC Annual Reports, the waterfront development strategies have attracted several new businesses of both national and international significance to Newcastle. However, the nature of the employment opportunities and the type of skills required have meant that many local residents are excluded from the economic development. Reports indicate that over half the jobs at Newcastle are taken up by persons who live outside of Newcastle. As one official at the Newcastle Business Park Management Division commented, "... this factor is fully supported by the large number of vehicles parked at the Business Park and most other business locations at the waterfront development projects. This places much doubt concerning the employment benefits obtained from the developments by the residents of the city.

Interviews held with the official at the Newcastle Business Park Management Division revealed that the number in small businesses or industries accommodated at this and other business locations along the riverfront is relatively low. The majority of investments have come from large firms with an national and international basis and serving a national and international clientele. Table 11 (overleaf) indicates the focus of the businesses taken as a sample at the Newcastle Business Park. As the table indicates, eighty percent of the businesses have a national or international focus, with only twenty percent being of local origin. Consequently, there is

little evidence of the fact that the regeneration strategies have caused the expansion or growth of indigenous businesses and therefore economic development is limited in this sense.

**Table 11 The Focus of Businesses at the Newcastle Business Park**

Focus or Base	No. Of Companies
Local	2
National	4
International	8
TOTAL	15

Source : The Author, 1999.

The national and international focus of the majority of businesses at the Business Park throws additional doubt as to the beneficiaries of the increased economic activity. The Officials interviewed at the Newcastle City Council as well as the Amec Development Company are of the belief that the private sector has benefited the most from the regeneration activities. Indeed, as most of the companies are based outside of Newcastle, it is quite likely that the true beneficiaries are not the city of Newcastle but rather, the large private sector corporations. This leads to the point suggesting that the public sector may often be subsidising private sector development, particularly in the light of property-led regeneration.

#### **4.8 The Isolation of Development**

One of the major concerns with the waterfront development at Newcastle was its perceived isolation from the city. Although regular buses exist along the route from the waterfront area to

the city centre, employees still have a feeling of being isolated from the hub of activity in the city. Some allowance has been made for this in terms of the provision of shopping facilities. However, as one business official described it, the shops are quite limited in terms of the products sold and the services provided, so that a day at work is a day in isolation. Some of the concerns expressed by the workers at the Newcastle Business Park include;

- The lack of shopping facilities
- The absence of certain vital services such as an ATM
- The relative inaccessibility of the developments. The access route consists of a series of steps leading to and from the river's edge at the business park area and near the Hanging Gardens.

The complaints listed above indicate that inadequate thought was given to the requirements of supporting infrastructures that would be required by workers at the park.

#### **4.9 Discontinuity in Development**

The TWDC performed its role as the agency responsible for the urban regeneration of the Tyne River for a period of ten years, from 1987 to 1998. This was found to be a serious flaw in the policy as the regeneration of an area cannot be measured in terms of the lifespan of an agency. As a result, the policies and projects left by the TWDC have been spread among several agencies. These include the Newcastle City Council, Amec Development Company and the North Tyneside Metropolitan Council. As such, the plans have become fragmented with each agency pursuing its own objectives. In addition, most of the reports from the TWDC have practically disappeared with the absence of a body to take full responsibility for its activities

presently. This presents the question of where the accountability for the actions and developments lies currently and indicates another shortcoming of the UDCs in general.

## Chapter 5

### Waterfront Regeneration and the Prospects for Glasgow

#### 5.1 The Origins of Waterfront Regeneration in Glasgow

The idea of riverside regeneration in Glasgow stemmed from two main factors. Primarily, this idea conformed to the general trend in urban policy at the time towards a the economic revival of waterfront areas in the U.K and internationally. This drive stemmed partly from the recognition of the decline along waterfronts which resulted from deindustrialisation. Additionally, further incentive to conduct some form of renewal activity along the Clyde stemmed from the need to market Glasgow as a centre for inward investment and business development. The continued decline of the manufacturing industry sector meant that the city needed to attract a greater number of service and high technology industries in order to initiate economic growth. Thus, the initial aims of renewal were those of economic development within the city.

According to discussions with the Director of Regeneration Services at the Glasgow City Council, the idea of regenerating the Clyde in some form has been under discussion for the last twenty of so years. However to this point the Council of other regeneration agencies have been unable to develop a comprehensive plan for the area. Several factors have been suggested as being responsible for this occurrence in Glasgow. Interviews with officials from the Glasgow City Council revealed the following;

- The nature of the local government and development agency structure in Glasgow meant that for a long time, the focus was on initiatives which would assist the city in general, rather than specific areas.
- The wide geographical spread of the city has meant that financial resources provide by the Scottish Office and Scottish Enterprise through the GDA have had to be spread over the various areas with problems in the city.
- The absence of a single body, such as an Urban Development Corporation, with total jurisdiction of the waterfront area has meant that a number of agencies would have to be involved in the process and this considerably slows it down
- The pattern of land ownership along the Clyde is quite varied and disjointed with the private sector ( in the form of the Clyde Port Authority ) having significant holdings. This meant that any plan would involve the purchase of large sections of land by the relevant body involved. The City Council did not possess these financial resources.
- The Clyde is an engineered river with wide differentials between low and high tides. This means that it is not always navigable and the maintenance costs of dredging, quay walls and other structures would have to be absorbed. The private sector is most times unwilling to absorb these costs and this restricts development.
- The climate and weather patterns restrict the type of developments which could be located along the Clyde in terms of leisure activities. Plans to construct a Weir across the Clyde near the Kelvin River have been thwarted as a result of the initial costs and the perceived inability of the project to pay for its maintenance in future years through pleasure cruises along the river.

In spite of the factors identified above, riverside regeneration has proceeded in a piecemeal fashion with mainly private sector development. One of the earlier attempts at regeneration was the hosting of the Glasgow Garden Festival at a formerly derelict site near the Govan community along the Clyde River in 1988. The preparations for this festival included the clearing up of the site as well as the decoration and improvements of the physical components of the site. The main themes of the festival were science and technology and this was completely reflective of the type of investments that were targeted during this festival. Several reports have been written discussing the relative merits and demerits of this festival. Interviews with Glasgow City Council officials however seem to indicate that the festival was regarded as a relative success in terms of altering the image of Glasgow as a purely industrial city. However, it was admitted that the desired investments were slow in coming during the proceeding years after the festival. The project may have achieved some success as a marketing tool for the city, however, the residents of the adjacent local community of Govan generally regard it as a disappointment. The interview with the official of Govan Initiatives reveals that the residents were promised and expected that the structures developed for the Garden Festival would remain and would generate lasting employment which would result in the economic and social regeneration of the community along the riverside. However, this did not take place and the local community obtained limited benefits from the festival. According to the official, the main benefits derived by the local area from the project were that of image building. For the first time in a long time the Govan community was regarded in a positive light as something other than just another run down post industrial community. Apart from this aspect, the direct trickle down benefits of the project have been slow in coming.

Subsequent riverside developments have followed with the development of Springfield Quay. Springfield Quay is a private-sector owned and developed mixed development project which includes leisure and business and commercial facilities. Some of the companies located at this development include Mecca, Odeon Cinema, Mac Donald's' Restaurant as well as other commercial ventures. The development of this project was derived out of private sector motivation to maximise space and business profit. However Govan Initiatives recognised the potential value of the development in terms of employment and pull factors and therefore took steps to maximise the benefits for the local community. Govan Initiatives performed as the mediator between the major employers at Springfield Quay and the local community. Surveys were carried out in order to determine the skills required by the employers and arrangements were made to ensure that identified residents within the community were provided with the training required to include the in any employment possibilities which were made available. The surveys revealed that most of the skills required were of the soft skills type such as serving at restaurants and customer services such as ticket sales, and so most of the training would be done in house upon hiring the individuals. This was quite relevant to the population as training would be less time-consuming and costly for individuals and the initiative. The Govan Initiative was able to organise arrangements with the employers at Springfield Quay whereby the local residents would be guaranteed at least an interview and therefore a fair chance at obtaining the available jobs. Thus although a binding agreement could not be enforced, the initiative was able to at least sensitise the employers to the needs of the local community.

Another private sector development in recent times is the Braehead Shopping Complex. This mainly commercial development consists of large commercial companies such as Marks and Spencer's and Sainsburys and provides an large out of town centre for shopping and associated

leisure activities. This is also located near the Govan community and thus the Govan Initiatives agency has pursued a similar approach as it did in Springfield Quay to secure employment opportunities for community residents. Interviews with City Council officials revealed that this complex was subject to Council disapproval in planning terms. This was a consequence of the fact that as an out of town shopping complex, the initial proposal was too large and would therefore have a negative pull effect on the shopping centres within the city centre. Thus the approved development plan was much reduced in terms of size, although it is still perceived to have a negative impact on the neighbouring urban area of Paisley. However, so far it has proved beneficial to Govan and this is suggestive of the sometimes harmful nature of local policies as opposed to macro or general policies and initiatives.

## **5.2 New Proposals and Projects**

The most recent initiatives pursued in terms of riverside regeneration in Glasgow have been that of the Scottish Exhibition and Conference Centre (SECC), the Science Centre and the newly proposed Pacific Quay. Figure 8 (overleaf) shows the site for the location of Pacific Quay and the SECC in the background. All of these initiatives have been proposed and developed through partnership approaches with the Glasgow Development Agency being at the forefront in terms of leverage of funds. An interview with the co-ordinator of the Pacific Quay development at the GDA revealed that the factors operating behind the development of the project included the following;

- The need to attract investment into Glasgow. This investment would have to be mainly in the form of new high technology industries and the service industry in general. This is in light of the continued decline of heavy manufacturing industry in the city.

- The need to facilitate physical developments and investments which would contribute to the increased economic development of the city as a whole. The provision of necessary physical infrastructure would attract investment and the new investments would “pull” other investors, therefore increasing employment opportunities.

The development would promote effective use of a once derelict site and would therefore meet the mandate of reducing the amount of derelict land space in the city.

The Pacific Quay and Science Centre Projects are being developed with the aid of European Funding. As a result, the project developers have a mandate to ensure that the local community areas such as Govan and The Gorbals benefit from the development in terms of employment and general economic development. As a result, the local area initiatives, such as Govan Initiatives, have been able to pursue strategies which would provide them with an idea of the skills required by the employers so that they can position the residents to take advantage of possible new opportunities. According to the GDA co-ordinator of the project, approximately 3000 jobs are expected to be generated by the projects. However, the nature of the employment appears to be fairly highly skilled and even technically skilled employees. This may pose some problem in obtaining workers from the local communities as these types of employees are generally unavailable and the training required would be too extensive for the period of time available.

**Figure 8 : Photograph Showing the Proposed Site Location for Pacific Quay and the SECC**



**Source : Pacific Quay, GDA Publication, 1998.**

An interview with the City Council Director revealed that plans are in the process of being developed for the comprehensive regeneration of the Clyde River. This is currently being co-ordinated through a CIDRE project through which the cities of Dublin, Glasgow and East London will have their waterfront areas regenerated. The cities were selected on the basis of differential levels of economic development on either side of the riverbanks. Thus, in the case of the Clyde, the Northern section is highly developed with the city centre and its environs, while the southern section remains relatively in economic decline with communities such as Gorbals. The plan making process involves major participants and is expected to be developed along the lines of what the official described as the "three-legged stool" of urban regeneration. That is, to regenerate the riverside and the city in general through a combination of physical, economic and financial investment strategies. The strategy for the Clyde is in the process of being determined and developed through the Council Riverside Working Group. This group consists of the City Council, the Roads Department and the Chief Executive Department. The project is expected to be funded through European Funding, the GDA and with the assistance of the Clyde Port Authority as the private sector contributor. In addition to the physical property developments, it is expected that the proposed plans will include strategies for training as well as infrastructural strategies for linking the developments to the rest of the city. This will be done through the extension of the underground and rail systems with the possibilities for the development of tram links with the city centre.

The Clyde Port Authority has also in the last two months released plans for a mixed development project along the Clyde. This project, referred to as the Clyde Port Harbour Project is expected to contain a mixture of commercial and office floorspace as well as leisure facilities and residential floorspace. This project has the approval of the City Council and is expected to

considerably increase the opportunities for employment available to the neighbouring communities of Govan, Partick and the city in general.

The research therefore indicates that the prospects for the regeneration of the Clyde are numerous and the level of interest on the parts of both the public and private sectors is high. The potential for the success of these projects appears to be greater than that of the Newcastle at this point. The primary reason for this appears to be the influence of the current trends in urban policy. The implementation of the partnership approach to urban development in the 1990s has increased the level of multi-sectoral participation in the process of policy formation and implementation. This has resulted in an approach that has a greater acknowledgement of the importance of social considerations and objectives in the process of urban regeneration.

## Chapter 6

### Discussion and Evaluation of Findings

#### 6.1 Newcastle upon Tyne

The waterfront regeneration schemes pursued at Newcastle upon Tyne may be described as fairly extensive and intensive property development initiatives. The projects were undertaken with generally wide scale and far reaching objectives of regenerating the city through increased economic development. Inherent in the policy was that of ensuring that the benefits of property development would trickle down into the city in general and even to the level of specific local communities. Thus the approach used was generally that of a top-down approach towards economic regeneration. This approach appears to have only a limited effect in reducing problems of urban decline as the specific problems of the local areas are often left untargeted.

The Newcastle waterfront project is often viewed as bring largely successful in terms of improving the image of the Tyne River and the city of Newcastle as a whole. However, although the environment of the riverside has been altered by the projects, the general view is that the local declining communities have received little economic and social benefit from the initiatives. Primarily, the companies attracted to the developments have provided employment opportunities which are of little relevance to the skills and knowledge available within the communities. As a result, the employment opportunities have gone to other sectors of the city where the skills are available. In addition, several of the national and internationally based companies that located at the new developments recruited their own staff from their previous locations, the net result being

that many of the employment opportunities were not new but were merely displaced opportunities.

The new developments at the Newcastle waterfront area have created an environment along the river that is once again economically motivated such that the area can once again contribute to the city's economy. However, the extent to which this may be regarded as effective regeneration is limited by the fact that the river remains a daytime hub of economic and social activity. The research indicates that the development projects have so far failed to entice a substantial resident population to the area. This is mainly a consequence of the fact that the housing developed so far has been unsuitable in terms of rental values to the local population. Thus the regeneration of the riverfront to the point where it becomes a fully operational and utilised area has not taken place.

The perceived isolation of the riverside area of Newcastle has been another obstacle to its full integration into the working city area. Although transportation links exist, the topography of the area, where access to the city area is hindered by a slope, does not lend itself to the full integration of the waterfront, as its accessibility remains relatively low. This causes the area to be referred to as "that place" with the new developments and not really as an integral part of the city where people live and work.

A further criticism of the Newcastle waterfront development project lies in the fact that there was little community involvement and participation in the projects, particularly during the earlier stages of its development. Although the area allocated to the TWDC for development had a relatively small resident population, several adjacent communities stood to benefit or at

least be affected by the change taking place at the waterfront. As a result, due consideration should have been given to the needs and requirements of those communities if the regeneration process was to be holistic. The regeneration project may also be criticised on the point of being carried out in relative isolation of other regeneration projects and initiatives being pursued by both the City Council and local area initiatives. This meant that the local communities were unable to suggest measures which may have benefited their areas in terms of employment generation and other social and economic requirements, particularly during the initial stages of project development. For example, although construction took place within the area, measures to secure employment for local communities were not implemented until the post 1994 period with the development of the Newcastle Construction Initiative and other similar local initiatives. This one agency approach to economic regeneration therefore did not effectively integrate the needs of local communities with the project objectives and suggests that a single agency approach to regeneration as was pursued can only have limited effects in stemming the problem of urban decline. Statistics from the research indicate that in spite of the alleged increase in employment opportunities along the waterfront, this has not stemmed the loss of population taking place within the city or the economic decline in the adjacent communities. Thus, large sums of money were invested in an area which resulted in little benefits for the adjacent communities, and to this extent the effectiveness and efficiency of this approach is indeed questionable.

The development of flagship projects such as the Newcastle Business Park has certainly improved the image of the Newcastle area as a business and investment location. However research reveals that the new investors bring little trickle down value to the city in general with the private sector appearing to be the greatest beneficiary of the projects so far.

## **6.2 Glasgow Clyde Regeneration**

Research indicates that the regeneration which has taken place so far along the Clyde in Glasgow has been less structured in terms of plans and objectives than the Newcastle approach. This was mainly due to the fact that the development was not seen to be a major priority for the City Council and other public agencies. The majority of the developments so far have been private-sector developed and oriented with the public sector only now expressing an interest in the regeneration of the area. This has meant that there has so far been less emphasis on a property-led approach with a greater focus being given to the local initiatives for communities along the Clyde River such as Govan, the Gorbals, Crown Street and Partick. As a result of the existence of these long established initiatives, the local communities have been able to obtain greater benefits from the private sector ventures to a greater extent than has taken place in Newcastle.

## **6.3 Overall Conclusions**

The single-agency, property-led approach to urban regeneration was developed as a result of the existing trends in urban policy during the 1980s. At the time this approach seemed the most promising way to stem the effects of urban decline and ensure the regeneration of those sections of the city which has already experienced decline. However, the information gathered in this study indicates that this approach had severe limitations as urban decline has continued in the communities immediately adjacent to the new developments projects of the UDC era in Newcastle. The way forward for urban and waterfront regeneration in the 1990s should

therefore be more holistic with due considerations being given to the needs of the local communities in social as well as economic terms.

#### **6.4 Conclusion of Key Issue Number 1**

The regeneration of the Clyde is practically in its infancy stage when compared to that of the Tyne River. This may be partly attributed to the absence of a single agency such as the TWDC to take responsibility for this. However, the absence of the UDC in Scotland may well have been an advantage as the current trends in urban policy which aim at social inclusion and community involvement are likely to make the proposed developments more successful in terms of an holistic regeneration than that of the Tyne. The evidence of this is already evident in the existing private sector projects such as Springfield Quay where efforts were made by the local initiatives to increase the developers' awareness of the need to account for the local communities in their plans. There was little evidence of this type of approach in Newcastle upon Tyne. The best direction for the regeneration of the Clyde would therefore be the development of mixed projects that included commercial and industrial floorspace. However, attempts should be made to encourage local enterprises and businesses to occupy such areas. This would ensure that in addition to attracting outside investments, the local business and economic base would be expanded. As a consequence, the prospects for local employment opportunities would be significantly increased, since the Newcastle experience indicates that several of the businesses attracted brought their own employees.

Additionally, efforts must be made to link the developments at the Clyde waterfront with the city centre and the local communities. This is to ensure that the developments do not remain in isolation, but are well-integrated sections of the city of Glasgow. This should be done with the creation of effective and efficient transportation links. In a similar manner, the developments

should take the needs of the employees into consideration and ensure that the basic infrastructural and support services such as ATMs exist at the development as this will encourage investment and encourage employees and other sections of the community to remain within the area even outside of working hours. This will ensure that the development does not become a dead area at night.

## **6.5 Conclusion of Key Issue Number 2**

The examination of the waterfront regeneration in along the Tyne River in Newcastle indicated that although the area has been significantly transformed physically, it is relatively far from being reabsorbed into the city in general. In economic terms, the waterfront can now make a contribution to the general economy of the city of Newcastle upon Tyne. Additionally, the area has been redeveloped to the point where it has once again become a location for leisure activities within the city. However, the Tyne waterfront area remains a relatively isolated development node located among areas in decline. This factor is reinforced by the very nature of the businesses located within the area. With most of them having a national or international focus and clientele, this does not really lend towards the development of links within the city. In addition, the existence of declining communities within the adjacent areas is indicative of the fact that physical developments and improvements do not necessarily result in the eradication of social and economic problems. If regeneration is to be regarded as an holistic process involving physical, social and economic spheres of urban areas, then this type of property-led regeneration is not the answer.

## 6.6 Conclusion of Key Issue Number 3

The development of the single agency approach to urban regeneration was useful in that it concentrated the resources of the agency in a single direction. As a result, the regeneration would be the single focus of the agency and would lead to an increased likelihood of a proper plan and strategy for the area in question. This was quite evident in the comparison between the Tyne and Clyde Rivers' regeneration. The projects along the Tyne were advanced quickly with the actions of the TWDC, particularly with its ability to lever private sector funding and with its powers of compulsory land purchase. The absence of bureaucratic red tape allowed the process to proceed at a relatively rapid rate. However, this approach is fraught with many difficulties as the UDCs remained as isolated bodies basically left to their own devices with there being little co-ordination with other regeneration plans and objectives for the city. This problem was particularly exacerbated by the fact that they possessed limited lifespans. Their termination suggests the absence of continuing accountability and the discontinuity in the process of regeneration as their functions have to be split among various agencies. Thus, the UDC performed an relatively efficient role as property developers, but only a limited role in ensuring the process of urban regeneration.

## 6.7 Recommendations

In light of the outcomes of the projects at the Tyne waterfront regeneration project, several recommendations may be suggested for proposals along the Clyde. Primarily, the proposed developments should take place as part of a general strategy for the city of Glasgow. This is to ensure that isolated areas of development prosperity are not created along the waterfront. The strategy development should therefore take the form of a partnership approach. The proposals should also effectively involve the input and interaction of the local initiative agencies in communities such as Govan and Partick, in order to maximise the benefits to the local communities. The development of projects such as the Glasgow Science Centre, should have additional funding sources which would allow for the possible training of individuals from the local communities.

Links should be developed between the city centre and the Clyde waterfront to a greater extent than they are currently. These links should be physical, in the form of roads, bridges or rail systems. In addition, efforts should be made to attract uses to the developments that would require maximum public uses of the sites. Much of the developments in Newcastle was occupied by businesses which had limited visiting clientele, as several of them involved telephone sales and other services that do not involve visitations. Efforts should additionally be made to ensure that locally based businesses are accommodated at the new office developments such as Pacific Quay. This would allow the expansion of the local business base and could help to ensure greater benefits for the local areas and the city in general.

## APPENDIX A

### Dissertation Questionnaire to Officials

**Date of Interview**.....

**Name of Institution Represented**.....

**Name and Position of Respondent**.....

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1) What was the history behind the regeneration of the river in Glasgow/Newcastle ?

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2) Is there a strategic plan for the regeneration of the Clyde/Tyne ?

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3) What agency is responsible for the development and implementation of this plan ?

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4) Who were the main actors (agencies) involved in the process of plan and project development ?.....

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5) When were the plans and policies developed and under what conditions ?

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6) What are the main aims and objectives of the plan or proposed plan (or existing plan)?

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7) What was the level of private sector involvement in the plan making process ?

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8) What is the level of private sector involvement in project development and funding ?

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9) Which local communities would be most affected by the waterfront regeneration along the Clyde/Tyne River ?

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10) To what extent was the local community involved in the plan making process ?

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11) Is the waterfront development relevant to the needs of the local community ?

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12) To what extent has the waterfront regeneration 'trickled - down' to the local community ? (i.e. socially and economically)

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13) To what extent has the regeneration project benefited the citywide economy ?

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14) Which sector of the community and economy has benefited the most from this regeneration ? .....

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15) How effective do you think this type of regeneration has been in the Tyneside/ Clyde context ? .....

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16) Why was the UDC approach not adopted in Scotland ?

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17) Do you think the difference in approach has influenced the type of regeneration projects pursued in Scotland ? How ?

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18) What economic strategies are currently being developed or are in use to regenerate the Clyde/Tyneside area ? .....

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19) Do these strategies entail greater community involvement and participation ?

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20) Who are the main agencies involved in this process ?

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21) Are there any reports on the existing regeneration projects ? .....

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22) What strategies have been developed to regenerate the local communities ?

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